Some Aspects of Jainism in Eastern India

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In memory of
my sisters
Pratimā and *Ābhā*

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Map

Preface

THE present volume is an embodiment of the history of some aspects of the Jainas with an introductory note on the emergence of the Parivrājaka sect in general and the Jaina Parivrājaka in particular While tracing the reason(s) about the origin of the Parivrājaka sect, it has been shown that the period was of great turmoil in Indian religious life and thought With the revolutionary changes in the social and economic systems, new trends of thought and belief appeared and clashed with the orthodox and conservative patterns of behaviour Naturally, a large number of sects and schools representing various attitudes and approaches to the problem of life cropped up in this atmosphere of fermentation of ideas Adequate attention is being placed for obtaining a viable outline on the history of contemporary religious schools and their respective views and tenets It is a modest effort to view the social dimensions of groups organised around religious ideas of both the theists and the atheists and supporting a religious identity

Chapter 2 introduces the *tīrthankaras* in the light of historical perspective Teachings and tenets of the last two *tīrthankaras*, viz, Pārsvanātha and Mahāvīra, appear to be the pivotal principle of Jainism The study also includes an analytical outlook about the Jaina organisation and reason(s) behind the great schism in the monastic order Apart from the contours of the schisms and differences, the present chapter includes a general survey of their respective canonical texts

Chapter 3 deals primarily with the *Jaina Canonicat Texts* bearing monastic rules and regulations It makes an endeavour to sketch a comprehensive account relating to the disciplinary code of the Jaina monks to understand the real nature and the characteristic features of the Jaina monastic order The sixfold monastic order, an index of different stages of spiritual upliftment, deals with proper clarity and analysis The philosophical intricacies of the system deliberately

avoided, although the essence of the tenets and the diversities of belief and thought among the various Jaina groups have been taken into consideration

Chapter 4 is a descriptive study on the prevalence of this faith in different regions of eastern India in ancient times It is worth noting that at the time of Mahāvira and after him, under his Ganadharas, Jainism encompassed a wide region outside the pale of eastern India and embraced a variety of peoples and communities with diverse trends and thoughts The reflection of religion of the Jainas in this part of the country is abundantly projected both in the literature as well as in the archaeological objects like inscriptions icons, etc

A word is required to explain in this connection the geographical connotation of the term *Prācya-deśa* (eastern India) or *Prācī-dis* (eastern quarter) The denotation of the term varied concomitantly with the eastward expansion of an alien culture imparted by the Aryan speaking people According to the Brāhmanical text the entire region lying to the east of Benares is designated as eastern country (cf *Vārānasyāh parataḥ pūrvadeśaḥ* of Rajasekhara's *Kāvya mimāmsā*) The region has its common bearings on certain aspects like a specific geographic character, common properties of soil climate, vegetation, agriculture and technical exploitation Moreover, as an integrated area of social life, it exhibits a balance of state of dynamic equilibrium between its various parts (*Odra-Māgadhī Pravṛtti* of Bharata's *Nāṭya-śāstra*) The prehistoric and protohistoric antiquities exhibit practically a uniform development with regard to technology and material culture The transformation that followed the introduction of Brahmanical culture enveloped the entire region within a short span of time (For an elaborate discussion, see author's *History and Evolution of Vaisnavism in Eastern India*, ch 1, Calcutta, 1982)

It may also be mentioned in this connection that while attempting to locate important and popular Jaina centres in eastern India, almost all the available evidences have been utilised Still, in some cases the identification remains tentative since no corroborative evidence other than the similarity of names has come into light

A number of *Jina* images found from various sites have been described in this chapter To make the study more fruitful and purposeful some important and selective photographs have been displayed at the end. These representations show that the early

medieval period, especially the Pālasena period in eastern India roughly comprising Bengal, Bihar, Assam, northern part of Orissa and Bangladesh, was interesting, varied and complex from the icono-religious point of view

The Ājīvikas who are usually considered as an offshoot of the Jainas is the subject matter of the appendix In course of study on the Ājīvikas, an attempt has been made to throw light on the reasons behind the emergence and early historical development of the sect and its well perceptible growth in eastern India in the subsequent centuries Occupying an optimum position in the field of asceticism they did not maintain their separate identity in the long run, probably due to their ideological proximity with the Jainas Of course, the general philosophy of Ājīvikism, i e, the doctrine of *Niyati* (fate), has, however, nothing to do with Jainism, but so far as the particulars are concerned, they have many points in common

Readers desirous of knowing more about the history of Jainism or its philosophical understanding may find the bibliography useful which has been compiled as comprehensively as possible

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CHAPTER ONE

The Parivrājakas

THE Jaina Parivrājakas rather the Parivrājaka sect in general is undoubtedly one of the most significant and fascinating subjects of research to the scholars of Indological studies The term Parivrājaka (a wandering religious mendicant)[1] is found mention in the *Nirukta*[2] and is explained in the early Upanisads as one who takes *pravrajyā* (rejection of the household life) with the object of attaining *moksa* (Brāhmanical concept), *nirvāna/nibbāna* (Buddhist concept) or the Jaina *siddhatva* or the attainment of liberation *Pravrajyā* is prescribed as an initiatory ritual though, of course, the details of the ritual differ in various systems of Indian religion and even in various texts of the particular religious school

The Parivrājakas as a sect, or as an organised community of practice and doctrine, seems to have emerged not before the ascetic-intellectual movements of the sixth-fifth century BC They, of course, not as a community, but as individuals are frequently mentioned in the pre-Buddhist Brāhmanical literatures under different names, such as, Samnyāsī, Yati, Tapas, Bhiksu, Muni, Śramaṇa, Vātarasanas, Jatilas, Vaikhānasa, etc [3] The Parivrājaka sect is organised through the representations of the Brāhmanical Samnyāsī, the Buddhist Bhikṣus, the Jaina Yatis, the Ājivika Maskarins, etc Each system has its own history of growth and development, its schools, sects and sub-sects and their doctrines and tenets, its contribution to the cultural history of the country

It is, however, to be noted that in the Upaniṣads the line of demarcation between a Parivrājaka and a Samnyāsī or a Yati is not well defined and they are almost identical The Samnyāsīs like the Parivrājakas are said to have been in the habit of wandering about Some scholars believed that "the term Samnyāsin became denominational in later usage In the Buddhist and the Jaina legends it is

usually dropped and the wandering almsman is designated as a Bhikṣu or a Yati Only the man who with a Brāhmanical background, betakes himself to the wandering almsman s calling is called a Saṃnyāsin "[1] The *pravrajyā* ceremony signifies the rejection of not only *Gṛhasthya*-life but also of the Vedic religious practices and symbols He is called Saṃnyāsī (*Sam*+*ni*+*as*) because he 'casts off everything from himself', Parivrājaka because he wanders about leaving home and Bhikṣu because without possessions he lives only as a beggar But the ritual of *pravrajyā* which is found in the later Upaniṣads of the post-Buddhistic period may be treated as a subtle attempt to retain within Brāhmanical fold who has cast off completely the Brāhmanical religious culture It may be also due to the influence of the Buddhist practice which solemnises the new life from 'home into homelessness' (*agārasmā anagāriyam pabbajati*)

Another point to be noted in this connection is that the Parivrājakas hailed from both the Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanical groups of people, but majority belonged to the non-Brahmanical society Parivrājakas were prevalent in the early and later Brāhmanical societies, there is no doubt about it, but the process was made popular in the Brāhmanical society by the great Advaitācārya Śaṅkarācārya by establishing four *maṭhas* in four different quarters of the Indian subcontinent—Badrī in the north (Jyotih or Josi *maṭha*), Śṛngeri in the south (Śṛṅgerī *maṭha*), Dvārakā in the west (Śāradā *maṭha*) and Purī in the east (Govardhana *maṭha*) [5]

It needs to be clarified that the growth of wandering bodies of religieux, the Parivrājakas, was the result of an intellectual movement before the rise of Buddhism It was in a large measure a lay movement, not a priestly movement [6] An analytical study of the contemporary religious trends and the activities of different religious systems hardly substantiate the above conjecture On the other hand, it may unhesitatingly be said that the movement originated neither in Brāhmanical reform, nor in Kṣatriya revolt, nor in middle class convenience It was a world renouncing ascetic movement, classless and casteless In its essential idea and spirit it has no special affinity with the attitude and interest of any particular class or caste They were basically mendicants who had renounced the world and followed certain norms relating to a set of rites, ceremonies, rules of discipline and *tapas* or asceticism [7]

Identical principles and practices are found available in both the Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanical categories of the Parivrājakas and again both of them had their differences too The leading vows of the Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanical monks had a fundamental resemblance which was the result of a community of practical ideas Regarding the moral life all the religious teachers bear the identical view on the cultivation of five principal rules, viz, *ahimsā* (non-violence), *satyam* (truthfulness), *asteyam* (non-stealing), *brahmacaryam* (celibacy) and *aparigraha* (non-possession), known as *pañca-śīla* Mahāvīra like Buddha insisted on the life of asceticism, though he differed from Buddha on the question of *Ātman* which he believed in In fact, ascetics of both the categories, Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanical, were reputed for their penances and austerities As mentioned earlier that the Brāhmanical Samnyāsīs renounced all empirical attachment and attained 'Brahman', the monks and nuns of the heterodox societies like the Buddhist, Jaina and the Ājīvika, did the same to attian *nibbāna* or the blissful state of emancipation The means or the ways of life might have been different but all laid emphasis on some common issues like the high moral life, meditation, Yoga and renunciation which proved helpful to purify the mind and bring about 'Release'

The institution of the Rain retreat was also common to the Brāhmanas, the Buddhists and the Jainas The Buddhists call it *Vassa*, the Jainas *Pajjusana*, and the Brāhmanical Samnyāsins are enjoined to be 'of fixed residence' (*Dhruvaśila*) during the time A wanderer of any sect must suspend wandering and remain in retreat during rainy season Of course, in the beginning the Jaina and the Brāhmaṇical wanderers had no specific regulations prescribing 'living together' during rain-retreat According to the Jaina canonical texts, 'specially made' lodgings (like the *āvāsas* of the Buddhists) are allowed and only the *ācārya upādhyāya* and their group of pupils (*ganavacchedaka*) can reside together [8]

Again, some sort of coherence relating to food and dress is also to be found among the Parivrājakas of different schools Regarding food all of them welcomed simplicity and moderation in diet for obtaining purity (*visuddhi*) In fact, the achievement of 'purity' appears to have been one of the most widespread ideas among the Parivrājakas [9] The idea that pure food leads to mental purity seems to have had a great fascination for the Indian mind irrespe-

ctive of any sect

The outfit of the ascetics in general was of simplest and the lowest, but varied among the different sects[10] Of course, these were very slight and minor variances The Brāhmanical monks usually used bark or ochre-coloured garments, though nudity was not unknown to the *Dharmaśāstra* and *Sūtra* writers Originally Buddhist monks used to wear 'cast-off' robes, but subsequently they were allowed to accept robes offered by the laity under some restrictions The Jainas followed the principles relating to food and garment very rigidly The Digambaras were known for the nudity of monks, though they allowed nuns to use robes

Another interesting semblance in practice of these monks belonging to various schools of thought is that the days of the full-moon and newmoon were used for the *Darśa-pūrnamāsa* of the Brāhmanical society and for the *Pātimokkha* of the Buddhists and for *Poṣadha* or *posaha* (i e temporarily becoming a monk) ceremonies of the Jainas[11]

Without analysing minor details further in this respect it is rather prerequisite to make a brief review of the politico-socio economic and religious conditions of the period just before the rise of the Parivrājaka sect in general and the Jaina Parivrājakas in particular

Rhys Davids rightly observes that religious and philosophical beliefs were extremely diverse in the age of Buddha which appears to have been an age of thought ferment[12] It cannot be denied that by the side of intellectual and spiritual advance there also occurred important and significant socio-economic and political changes in the sixth and the fifth centuries BC in eastern India The rise of class society and imperial power in eastern India in the sixth century BC through despotic policy was the culmination of a historical process The growth of towns and commerce and the organisation of trade and craft into guilds make the social landscape of this age entirely different from that of the preceding period The emergence of money is noticeable and it must have involved critical changes in social life in its turn[13]

The accumulation of immense economic surplus in the hands of a few merchants in this period as recorded in the Pāli *Jātakas* is to be noted in this connection It was probably due to either by forcible exploitation of labour or by a revolutionary change in the mode of production R S Sharma suggests that this change was

due to the introduction of iron implements in the field of production[14] When this change took place, it also transformed the existing social values and relations, giving rise to the formation of a non-productive privileged class Thus we hear of a large number of fabulously rich merchants who patronised the new religious movements

By that time the *Janapadas* were developing into *Mahājanapadas* leading to the rise of organised states Out of sixteen *Mahājanapadas* as mentioned in the Buddhist *Anguttara-nikāya* and the Jaina *Bhagavatī-Sūtra*,[15] four became distinguished as powerful states, and the forces behind the subsequent emergence of Magadhan imperialism could be seen A trial of strength was taking place between the monarchies,[16] between the monarchical and non-monarchical forms of government[17] With the growing success of Magadhan imperialism, the decline of the republican states was inevitable[18] It has been suggested that the political troubles of the age provided its more thoughtful and sensitive souls with incentive to withdraw from the world Thus Toynbee places Buddha in the "Times of Troubles" of the Indic World[19] The Magadhan occupation to the supreme state power required annihilation of many tribal settlements and also caused the tremendous bloodshed and massacre, which have produced a sense of social distress and awakened the spirit of questioning The Buddha, bewildered by the stupendous social transformation and immense bloodshed and large-scale massacre of the times causing human misery, said

> I behold the rich in the world, of the goods which they have acquired, in their folly they give nothing to others, they eagerly heap riches together and further they go in their pursuit of enjoyment The king, although he may have conquered the kingdoms of the earth, although he may be ruler of all land this side the sea, up to the ocean's shore, would still insatiate, covet that which is beyond the sea The princes, who rule kingdoms, rich in treasure and wealth, turn their greed against one another pondering insatiably to their desires If these acts thus restlessly swimming in the stream of impermanence carried along by greed and carnal desire, who then can walk on earth in peace[20]

It may be said at the outset that the period marked a transi-

tional stage not only in the field of political and socio-economic life but also in the religious thinking and ideas of the people Brāhmaṇism which prevailed in the society prior to the rise of the Buddha, had developed into an elaborate ritual, and only learned Brāhmanas were competent to perform sacrifices, and even in domestic worship their services became indispensable The trend of opinion was now growing against the rigidity of the Vedic sacrifices The intellectual ferment of the age was responsible for this change The religion of the Vedas, which was primarily and basically a sacrificial one, had lost its appeal with the masses Again, in the philosophy of the Upanisads we find the quest of true knowledge, and here the mind of the thoughtful people was directed to the attainment of peace and salvation, by the knowledge of *Ātman* and *Paramātman* Yet the ideas of the Upaniṣads a highly scholastic metaphysical doctrine of the direct realisation of God, could not in any way appease the spiritual needs of the people The high position which the Brāhmana priests had so far occupied could no longer be maintained

The Kṣatriyas had now gained predominance [21] Some of them were great philosophers Even the learned Brāhmaṇas used to approach them for seeking higher learning Mention may be made in this connection of the royal philosophers like Pravāhana Jaibāli, Janaka and Ajataśatru [22]

Moreover, it was not possible for the common folks to perform such a costly and complicated rituals and sacrifices of the Vedic-Upaniṣadic ages Existing Brāhmanical religion, thus, gradually had lost all spontaneity, and it, as a rule, was considered the monopoly of the Brāhmanas and the affluent people in India at that time

It is needless to point out that the Vedic rituals were not totally ignored in this age of reason and higher learning, The theology, as contained in the late Vedic literature was still current Mystic significance was attached to the Vedic rituals and sacrifices An elaborate description of the Vedic rituals can be found in the *Śrauta Sūtras* and the *Gṛhya Sūtras* Contemporary rulers, viz, king Prasenjit of Kośala and Udayana of Kauśāmbī, were believers in the efficacy of Vedic rituals The two tendencies apparent in most religions, those of philosophical speculation and ritualism, had assumed great complexity Vedic ritual still persisted, though the outer forms had been adjusted to contemporary needs The

sacrifice remained an important part of the ritual, though its practice was restricted to the twice-born castes, the priests and aristocrats and on occasion to the affluent members of the commercial class The other tendency that of philosophical speculation, which had its roots, in the *Rgveda* itself, led gradually to the rise of a number of sects each seeking an explanation of the universe by a different method or a combination of different methods The most important among these sects were the Buddhists, the Ājīvikas, and the Nirgranthas or the Jainas

The common folk used to worship trees in the form of *Vrksa devatās*, the Nāgas (the serpent-worship), the Yaksas and the Gandharvas The ancient literature contains abundant references to their worship The Nāgas were worshipped both in the form of serpents and human being The first is called *Sarpavigraha* Generally females desiring children used to worship such images in the form of cobras The human form, known as *Mānavavigraha*, had usually the figure of a male or female having the serpent hoods on the back of the head

From the Buddhists and Jaina literatures we learn that Yakṣa-cult had a wide popularity in northern India We read about the names of such powerful Yaksas as Umabaradatta, Surambara, Manibhadra, Bhanḍira, Śūlapāni Supriya, Ghantika and Pūrana-bhadra Similarly we come across such names of the Yakṣinis as Kuntī, Naṭā, Bhattā, Revati, Tamasurī, Lokā, Mekhalā, Alikā, Bendā, Maghā, Timisikā, etc [3] People were afraid of them and used to pay homage to these so called semi-divine figures Barring these so-called semi-divine figures for the common people i e the villagers, the peasants, the craftsman and the tradesman, there was a great variety of popular magic to which they might have resorted for comfort, guidance, peace of mind, protection from evil, and so on

Another interesting characteristic which was current in this part of India during the period under review was the prevalence of a number of superstitious beliefs We read about the following kinds of animistic hocuspocus followed by the people of the region especially of Madhyadeśa A list of these magical practices is given in one of the discourses of the Buddha [24] They are described by the Buddha as 'low arts' and are of the kind practised by certain of the Brāhmanas and Śramanas They included such activities as "palmistry, divination of all sorts, auguries drawn

from the celestial phenomena, prognostications by interpretation of dreams, auguries drawn from marks on cloth gnawed by mice, sacrifices to Agni, it is characteristic to find these in such company —oblations of various sorts to gods, determining lucky sites, repeating charms, laying ghosts, snake charming, using similar arts on other beasts and birds, astrology, the power of prophecy, incantations, oracles, consulting gods through a girl possessed or by means of mirrors, worshipping the Great One invoking Siri (the goddess of luck), vowing vows to gods, muttering charms to cause virility or impotence, consecrating sites, and more of the same kind."[25] Buddha vehemently opposed these practices. And that such practices are forbidden to members of his order is emphasized in a number of places. "You are not, O bhikkhus, to learn or to teach the low arts of divination, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft and quackery, the Buddha is reputed to have charged the members of the Order."[26] In another place, while giving answer to the question of how a member of the Buddhist order is to achieve perfection and be entirely unattached to any worldly thing the Buddha lists the many requirements, one of these is as follows—"Let him not use Atharva Vedic spells, nor things foretell from dreams or signs or stars, let not my follower predict from cries, cure barrenness, nor practise quackery."[27] To the Jaina followers these practices were unacceptable too.

Thus we find that people had faith in magic rituals and mystic utterances. The Vedic gods—Indra, Agni, etc. were still worshipped. But side by side the worship of *Vṛkṣa devatā* (tree deity), Yakṣas, Nāgas and Asuras was also fairly popular. At that time there was also widespread belief in numerous evil spirits, ogres, goblins and the like. These were thought of as acting capriciously and at random, and mostly in ways that were inimical to human welfare.

Thus from the religious perspective the entire social structure can be identified with the three major areas: first, there was the sacrificial cult of the hereditary priestly class, the Brāhmanas, secondly, there was the vast range of popular cults and beliefs of the ordinary people, mostly villagers, who constituted the majority of the population, and thirdly, there was the variety of ideas and practices expounded by various eminent religious teachers, both Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmaṇical, who were known Śramanas, the forerunner of the organized Parivrājaka sects, propagating collectively differ-

ent faiths

It is against this background that the history of the contemporary religious schools should be read The experience of social change and sufferings is, as pointed out by Toynbee,[28] connected with the quest of new pathways in religion and philosophy Among the contemporaries heretical teachers who were also influenced and inspired by the wave of dissatisfaction with the system of orthodox Brāhmaṇism as well as the ruthless political and unhealthy socio-economic conditions of the period, the following names mentioned in the Pāli canons are worth-noting

(a) Pūrna Kassapa, a senior contemporary of the Buddha and Mahāvira, known by the appellation of *ahetuvādin*,[29] is said to have claimed omniscience[30] Buddhaghosa[31] speaks of that Kassapa came to be known by his name from the fact that his birth completed (*pūrna*) one hundred slaves in a certain household In the *Dīgha-nikāya*,[32] the teacher while explaining his philosophy said that there is neither merit nor demerit in any kind of action The doctrine is based on *Akiriyāvāda* or the theory of non-action in which the soul does not act and the body alone acts B M Barua[33] considers it as *Adhiccasamuppannikavāda*, i e , things happen fortuitiously without any cause or condition, while Silaṅka, a Jaina commentator, speaks of its resemblance with that of the Sāṅkhya system[34] But N Dutta thinks otherwise ' It would be wide of the mark if we say Kassapa's teaching is the same as that of Sāṅkhya, though it holds that *Purusa* is only an onlooker, an inactive agent, the functioning factor being the *prakrti* "[35] In fact, the doctrine of Kassapa is so peculiar that we cannot come across any similarity to the six systems of Indian philosophy

(b) Makkhali Gośāla was at first a follower of Jainism of the Pārśvanātha tradition As he was not appointed a *ganadhara* in Nigaṇtha Nātaputta's order, he left the Jaina *Samgha* and founded another sect called Ājīvika[36] He was a naked ascetic Pānini, the noted grammarian, describes him as *Maskarin* as he always carries a bamboo staff[37] According to Buddhaghoṣa, Makkhali Gośāla was once employed as a servant One day while carrying an oil pot along a muddy road, he slipped and fell through carelessness although warned thus by his master *mā khali* (stumble not) Hence he is called Makkhali He was designated Gośāla because he was born in a cow-shed[38] This school is known by some as *ahetukadiṭṭhi* or *akiriyādiṭṭhi*,[39] while the others designate it as

Ajñānavāda[40] He was, however, a prophet of *Niyativāda* (fatalism), according to which—"There is neither cause nor basis for the sins of living beings, they become sinful without cause or basis There is no deed performed either by oneself or by others (which can affect one's future births), no human action, no strength, no courage, no human endurance or human prowess (which can affect one's destiny in this life) All beings, all that have breath, all that are born, all that have life are without power, strength, or virtue, but are developed by destiny, chance and nature, and experience, joy and sorrow in the six classes of existence Salvation, in his opinion, can be attained only by death and existence which are unalterably fixed (*niyati*) Suffering and happiness, therefore, do not depend on any cause or effect "[41] An elaborate history of the activities and specific norms of the Ājivika Parivrājaka will be dealt at the end in an appendix

(c) Another popular heretical school that emerged in the eastern horizon of Indian subcontinent was propagated by Ajita Keśakambalin who, being a materialist, denied the existence of good and bad deeds His philosophy can be compared with the philosophy of Cārvāka

In the *Brahmajala Sūtta* it is classified as *Ucchedavāda*, i e, the doctrine of annihilation after death The followers of this school believe '*Tam jivan tam śarīram*', that is, the doctrine of identity of the soul and body The Cārvākas also conceived similar views—"There is no after-life, and no reward of actions, as there is neither virtue nor vice Life is only for enjoyment So long as it lasts it is needless to think of anything else, as everything will end with death, for when at death the body is burnt to ashes there cannot be any rebirth "[42]

As regards the meaning of the term—Keśakambali, it is stated that he wore a blanket of human hair, which is described as being the most miserable garment It was cold in cold wheather, and hot in the hot, foul smelling and uncouth[43] The advocates of this school conceive—"There is no merit in almsgiving, sacrifice or offering, no result or ripening of good or evil deeds There is no passing from this world to the next[44] No benefit accrues from the service of father or mother There is no after-life, and there are no ascetics or Brāhmanas who have reached perfection on the right path, and who, having known and experienced this world and the world beyond, publish (their knowledge) Man is formed of the four elements,

when he dies earth returns to the aggregate of earth, water to water, fire to fire, and air to air, while the senses vanish into space Four men with the bier take up the corpse, they gossip (about the dead man) at the burning ground, (where) his bones turn the colour of a dove's wing, and his sacrifices end in ashes They are fools who preach almsgiving, and those who maintain the existence (of immaterial categories) speak vain and lying nonsense When the body dies both fool and wise alike are cut off and perish They do not survive after death "[45] The argument adduced above is a clear expression of materialism, and its author (i e Ajita Keśakambalin) must have been considered as the forerunner of the later Cārvākas It is also called *Lokāyatavāda Tajjivataccharīravāda* held practically the same view with *Nāstikavāda* only with this difference that while latter denies altogether the existence of the soul the former admits it, but the logical end of both the views would be exactly the same [46]

(d) Pakudha Kaccāyana whose theory is classified as both *Akiriyāvāda* and *Sāssatavāda* in the *Brahmajala-sutta*, was another Lokāyata teacher[47] advocating that good or bad deeds do not affect the elements which are eternal Buddhaghoṣa states that Pakudha Kaccāyana did not use cold water, using always hot water Even he did not wash, when hot water was not available If he crossed a stream he would consider it as a sin, and would make expiation by constructing a mound of earth [48] According to Pakudha Kaccāyana, the elementary categories, seven in number, are neither made nor ordered, neither caused nor constructed, they are barren, as firm as mountains, as stable as pillars They neither move nor develop, they do not injure one another, and one has no effect on the joy, or on the sorrow, or on the joy and sorrow of another "What are the seven? The bodies of earth, of water, of fire, and of air, and joy and sorrow, with life as the seventh "[49] No man slays or causes to slay, hears or causes to hear, knows or causes to know Even if a man cleaves another's head with a sharp sword, he does not take life, for the sword-cut merely passes through the seven elements [50]

(e) Nigaṇtha Nātaputta The teaching ascribed to Nigaṇtha Nātaputta is rather vague On the basis of the Jaina canonical texts Jacobi[51] has pointed out that while it is not an accurate description of the Jaina creed it contains nothing alien to it We may accept the identification of Nigaṇtha with Vardhamāna

Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth *Tīrthankara* of Jainism A close scrutiny of the teachings and tenets propounded by Nigantha reveals considerable semblances with the doctrines and tenets of the Jainas It is described in the text that a Nigaṇṭha is surrounded by the barrier of fourfold restraint How is he surrounded? He practises restraint with regard to water, he avoids all sin, by avoiding sin, his sins are washed away and he is filled with the sense of all sins avoided (*Sabba-vāri-yuto ti sabbena pāpa vāranena yutto Sabba vāri-dhuto ti Sabbena Pāpa-vāranena dhuto-pāpo Sabba vāri-phuṭṭho ti Sabbena Pāpa-vāranena Phuṭṭho*)[62] The text further goes on to state that " So surrounded by the barrier of fourfold restraint his mind is perfected, controlled and firm (*Gatatto ti Koṭippatta-citto*)[63]

(f) Sañjaya Belatthiputta is regarded to be the preacher of *Ajñānavāda* or agnosticism He is said to have the preceptor of the elders Sāriputta and Moggallāna before they were converted to Buddhism[64] Sañjaya along with Moggallāna is also mentioned in the Jaina literature as Jaina-muni[65] According to Buddhaghosa a certain wanderer named Supriya was a disciple of Sañjaya Parivrājaka, i e Sañjaya the wanderer[66] Regarding his doctrine, he says that if you asked me, 'Is there another world? and if I believed that there was, I should tell you so But that is not what I say I do not say that is so, I do not say that it is otherwise, I do not say that it is not so, nor do I say that it is not so "[67] A L Basham thinks that "the passage ascribed to Sañjaya Belaṭṭhiputta is probably satirical, a tilt at agnostic teachers who were unwilling to give a definite answer to any metaphysical question put to them "[68] B M Barua, on the other hand, believes that "the statement of Sañjaya represents a doctrine which was held in good faith by a school of Pyrrhonists "[59] It may however, be noted in this connection that the Jaina theory of *Syādvāda* is to some extent influenced by the teaching of Sañjaya

Each of these teachers has been described as the leader of an order (*ganino ganācariyo*), as being well-known (*ñāta*), famous (*yasassino*), the founder of a sect (*titthakāro*), respected as a saint by many people (*sādhusammato bahu janassa*) a homeless wanderer of long standing (*cirapabbājito*) and advanced in years (*vayonupatta*)[60] They may be considered as the philosophers or theologians in the modern sense[61] But the doctrines of these schools, as propounded by A L Basham, are "to be treated very cautiously, for

it is evident that the authors had but a limited knowledge of the teachings of the heretics, and what knowledge they had was warped by odium theologicum "[62]

Barring these six heretical schools of thought, there were other heretic' or 'heterodox' philosophical schools outside the pale of Brāhmanism in that period Besides the Buddhist and Jaina sources, the Upanisads [63] especially the later *Māndukya-kārikā*,[64] the *Pāñcarātra Samhitā*,[65] etc , also bear enough materials which refer to, besides the atheists, pseudo-ascetics, Kāpālikas and followers of Brhaspati, those doctrinaires who proclaim *Kālavāda* (time), *Svabhāvavāda* (nature), *Niyativāda* (fate), *Yadrcchāvāda* (chance), *Bhūtavāda* (elements) as also *Prāna* (life force), *Gunas* (qualities), *Diśah* (space), *Manas* (mind), *Buddhi* (intellect), and so forth as their first principles The Buddhist texts refer to two main classes of intellectual movements—(i) those that speculate on the first beginnings of things (*Pubbanta-Kappika*) and (ii) those that speculate about the future goal of creation (*Aparānta-Kappika*) The former consisted of four kinds of *Sāssatavāda* (eternalists), four kinds of *Ekacca-Sāssatavāda* (partial eternalists), four kinds of *Antānantikā* (limitists and unlimitists), four kinds of *Amarāvikkhepikā* (evasive disputants) and two kinds of *Adhiccasamuppanikā* (fortuitous originists), while the latter one consisted of sixteen kinds of *Saññivāda* (upholders of conscious soul after death), eight kinds of *Asaññivāda* (upholders of unconscious soul after death), eight kinds of *Nevasaññināsaññivāda* (upholders of neither conscious nor unconscious soul after death), seven kinds of *Uchhedavāda* (annihilationists) and five kinds of *Diṭṭhadhammanibbānavāda* (believers in the attainment of *Nibbāna* in this life) [66] All these doctrines have been described by the Buddhists as wrong and misleading (*micchādiṭṭhi*) and they are refuted by Buddhaghoṣa,[67] and by Nāgārjuna and Candrakirti [68]

The Jaina texts, on the other hand, speak of 363 philosophical views which were current in that period which was an age of acute intellectual upheaval in the cultural history of India These views were grouped into four main schools, viz , *Kriyāvāda*, *Akriyāvāda*, *Ajñanavāda* and *Vinayavāda* The first two schools are again classified into 180 and 84 varieties, while the last two into 67 and 32 forms [69] Most of the schools belonging to the Buddhist *Pubbānta* and *Aparānta Kappikas* correspond to the various groups of the *Akriyāvādins* mentioned in the Jaina texts

In this connection we may note the account of the *Sandaka-Sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya*[70] where the bhikkhu Ānanda describes to the wanderer Sandaka the four 'antitheses to the higher life' (*abrahmacariyavāsā*)·

(a) The materialist teacher who denies the existence of an after-life,
(b) The antinomian—a repetition of Pūrana's doctrine,
(c) The fatalist—repeating the teachings of Makkhali, and
(d) The atomist—repeating the atomic theory of Pakudha

Ānanda then describes the four 'comfortless vocations' (*anassāsikāni brahmacariyāni*)

(a) The teacher claiming omniscience,
(b) The traditionalist
(c) The rationalist, and
(d) The sceptic

All these doctrines were, directly or indirectly, concerned with death and annihilation, or with fear, frustration and helplessness They believed that all human actions and endeavours were fruitless They found no discrepancy between merit and demerit, between violence and non-violence Ajita Keśakambalin could not distinguish between the fool and the wise, for both were doomed to death, and Sañjaya kept himself mum since the deeply ingrained faiths behind the ideas were all uprooted, and Gośāla, being a fatalist, professed that human activity could do nothing to change the course of events In fact, the entire philosophical or religious world in eastern India was in a state of anarchy No systematic or methodical schools of philosophy and religion emerged due to precarious atmosphere which was not congenial to the creation of any religious school with an organised system of practice and doctrine It was an age of intellectual restlessness and the consequent craving for a new method of attaining serenity was perceptible And the mendicant bearing a staff, of whatever class or order wandering from place to place advocates *Mākrta karmāni mā krta karmāni śāntir van śreyasīty āhāto Maskarī Parivrājakah*[71]

It shows that the wandering class roaming from place to place propounded for peace which was most essential need of the time

and the wandering ascetics filled the need "In fact, India at the time of the emergence of the heterodox sects seems to have been in a state of theological anarchy, mitigated only by orthodox Brāhmanism which was by no means satisfying to the best minds of the times"[72] Similar trend of anarchy and restlessness in the field of religious environment also prevailed in the Roman Empire, when many people had lost their implicit faith in traditional varieties, and were ready to support any new cult which offered a more plausible and attractive system of belief In Rome the changing spiritual requirements were met in large measure by mystery cults imported from the East[73]

Finally, it should be noted that religious doctrines and philosophical beliefs were extremely diverse in the age of the c sixth-fifth centuries BC which was undoubtedly an age of acute intellectual upheaval in the religious history of India The history of the Parivrājaka sects, both the Brāhmanical and the non-Brāhmanical Parivrājakas, were taught within the same geographical orbit in its earlier stage during the same historical period, a mutual ideological influence was inevitable The wandering of the Buddha, or of the Mahāvīra, etc for years after years in search of enlightenment also would have brought them into contact with each others' dogmas One's ideal and activities threw immense impact on others Doctrinal parities and ritualistic semblances are not at all lacking among the different Brāhmanical and non-Brāhmanical Parivrājaka sects of the period under review

REFERENCES

[1]Sir Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 602

[2]*Nirukta* I 14, II 8

[3]*RV* X 109 4, 154 2, VI 5 4, *Br Up* IV, 4 22, *Chān Up*, II 23 1

[4]S Dutt *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, hereafter (*BMMI*), p 42

[5]G S Ghurye *Indian Sadhus* pp 96ff

[6]Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 159

[7]P Jash, 'Buddhist Parivrajaka Genesis and Early History', *Proceedings of the Fifth World Sanskrit Conference, 1981*, Beneras, pp 535ff R Thapar (*Ancient Indian Social History*, pp 63ff) has tried to show 'that the organized groups of renouncers of the post-Vedic period were neither negating the society to which they belonged nor trying to radically alter it but rather that they were seeking to establish a parallel society "

[8]S B Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, pp 159, 249

[9]*Chan Up*, VII 26 2, N Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, hereafter (*EMB*), I, pp 17ff

[10]The rules about the keeping of hair varied among the different sects The Jaṭilas as the name signified kept matted hair, the Nigaṇṭhas had the hair plucked out, while as the term Muṇḍaka shows, the prevalent practice was to shave the head periodically (Vaśiṣṭha, X 6)

This rule very likely applies to the Parivrājakas in general

[11]S Dutt, *BMMI*, pp 72 73

[12]Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 159, N Dutt, *EMB*, p 31

[13]N C Bandopadhyaya, *Economic Life and Progress in Ancient India*, pp 254ff, 285, Romila Thapar, 'Ethics, Religion, and Social Protest', op cit, pp 43ff

[14]R S Sharma, *Das Kapital Centenary Volume*, pp 63ff

[15]H C Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp 85ff

[16]Kośala had annexed Kasi and now Magadha swallowing Anga, captured Kośala, and ultimately hostilities arose between Magadha and Avanti in which Magadha became supreme

[17]Vidūḍabha attacked the Śākyas, and Ajātaśatru the Licchavis

[18]It is suggested by some scholars that the reason for the decline of the *ganarājyas* was 'The development of private as against tribal property, following conquest over aboriginal populations and the development of the tribal into an oligarchy" *JBBRAS*, 1951, p 186

[19]Toynbee, *A Study of History*, III, pp 270ff

[20]H Oldenberg *Buddha*, p 64

[21]Some of the Kṣatriya kings instead of employing Brahmaṇa teachers, were now themselves importing education their sons In the *Gamani Caṇḍa Jātaka* (II 257) we are informed about a king wh) taught his son the Vedas and the worldly knowledge, *tayo vedo sabbam ca loke kattabbam*

[22]*Br Up*, VI 1 1, *Chan Up* V 3 1

[23]Moti Chandra, Some Aspects of the Yaksha Cult, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay 1954, pp 43ff, A K Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*

[24]*Brahmajala Sutta*, 21, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pt I, pp 16ff

[25]Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India* pp 143 44

[26]*Vinaya Piṭaka*, *SBE*, XX, p 152

[27]*Sutta nipata*, 927

[28]Toynbee *Civilisation on Trial*

[29]*SN*, III 60, V 126, *AN*, III 383

[30]*AN*, IV 428 [31]*SV*, I 142 [32]*DN*, I 52

[33]B M Barua, *Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* p 279

[34]*Su Kr*, I 1 12 15 V, p 209

[35]N Dutt *EMB*, I, p 35

[36]*Bhāva Samgraha*, 175-79

[37]Patañjali *Mahabhāṣya*, 5 1 154

[38]*SV*, 1 166ff

[39]*MV*, I 513, *Milindapañha*, 4 5

[40]*Sū Kr*, I 127, *Darśanasara*, 176

[41]*DN*, I, 53ff, A L Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ajivikas*, hereafter (*HDA*), pp 13-14

[43]S N Dasgupta, *History of Indian Philosophy*, hereafter (*HIP*), vol I, pp 78-80

[44]*Dīgha nikāya Attakathā* (*Sumangala-Vilāsinī*), I 144, *Majjhima nikāya Attakathā* (*Papañcasudan*), I 422-23

[45]*SV*, I 165

[46]*DN*, I 55, A L Basham, *HDA*, p 15

[46]A C Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p 23

[47]According to S N Dasgupta (*HIP*, vol I, p 78, fn 2) "Lokāyata (literary, that which is found among the people in general) seems to have been the name by which all Cārvāka doctrines were generally known"

[48]*Dīgha nikāya Attakathā* (*Sumangala-Vilāsinī*), I 144, it is also stated elsewhere (I 168) of the same text that the Nigaṇṭhas do not use cold water as living beings exist therein

[49]*Katamo satta? Pathavi kayo apo kaya toja-kaye vayo kayo sukho dukkho jivo-sattamo* " *DN*, I, p 56

[50]Ibid, I, p 56 In the *Sū Kr*, II, 1 10, 280ff (*SBE*, XLV, II, 1 20-4) a five-element theory is outlined in the similar terms cf A L Basham, *HDA*, p 16

[51]Jacobi, *Introduction to Jaina Sutras*, pt II, *SBE*, XLV, pp xx-xxi

[52]Buddhaghoṣa's *Sumangala vilasinī*, I, p 168

[53]Ibid

[54]*Vinaya Piṭaka*, I, 42, 391

[55]*Amitagati Sravakacara*, 6

[56]*SV*, I, p 35

[57]*DN*, X, p 58

[58]A L Basham, *HDA*, p 17

[59]B M Barua op cit, pp 325ff

[60]*Dīgha-nikāya, Samāññaphala-sutta*, I pp 47ff

[61]B M Barua, op cit, pp 275ff

[62]A L Basham, *HDA*, p [illegible]

[63]*Śvetāśvatara Up*, I [illegible]1ff, *Maitrāyani Up*, VI, pp 14ff, VI 20, XV, pp 8ff

[64]*Māṇḍukya Kārikā*, I 7-9, X 30 28

[65]*Ahirbudhnya samhitā*, ed F O Schroder, Madras, 1916

[66]N Dutt, *EMB*, p 37

[67]*SV*, I, p 102

[68]*Mādhyamika-Vṛtti*, N Dutt, *EMB* pp 37 38

[69]A C Sen, op cit, pp 29ff

[70]*MN*, I, pp 513ff, A L Basham, *HDA*, pp 18ff

[71]Patañjali (*Mahābhaṣya*) on Pāṇini's *Sūtra* VI I 154

Similar type of concept is also reflected from the writings of Vāmana who has stated that "an ascetic, being habitually inactive, is called *maskarin*, from his denial of *Karma* He says 'don t perform actions iti Vāmana and Jayāditya, *Kāśikā*, ed Bālasāstrī, 2nd edition, Beneras, 1898, p 522

[72]A L, Basham, *HDA*, p 100

[73]Ibid, p 96

CHAPTER TWO

Twenty-Four Tīrthankaras and Their Activities and Teachings

JAINISM is one of the few religious systems whose distinctive history can be traced in centuries before the Christian era According to Jaina belief, it is both eternal and universal It is open to all beings Traditionally twenty-four *tīrthankaras*[1] who are credited with the formation of this faith appear in every *kalpa* (cycle)[2] Representing an institution of thought for attaining *summum bonum* as concomitant of the cessation of rebirth, the twenty four *tīrthankaras* of the *Avasarpinī-kalpa*, i e, the present era, made individual contributions in the field of philosophy and religion

With the attainment of *kevala jñāna* or absolute knowledge, the *tīrthankaras* were also designated as *kevalins* Heinrich Zimmer nicely explained the characteristic concept of *kevalin*

"The noun *kevalin*, furthermore, is a term used specially to denote the Jaina saint or *tīrthankara* Cleansed of *karmic* matter, and thereby detached from bondage, this perfect one ascends in complete isolation to the summit of the universe Yet, though isolated, he is all pervading and endowed with omniscience, for since his essence has been relieved of qualifying individualizing features, it is absolutely unlimited Referring to the *tīrthankara* and his condition, the word *kevalin* thus expresses the two meanings of 'isolated, exclusive, alone', and whole, entire, absolute', both being ideas pertaining to the sphere of beatitude in perfection This is strongly suggestive of the mystic teaching of Plotinus that the final stage in the mystic way is 'the flight of the Alone to the Alone' "[3]

It is an erroneous impression cherished by some scholars that Mahāvira was the founder of Jainism But this is far from truth, since, according to different Indian traditions recorded in the Jaina, Buddhist and Brāhmanical texts, there were twenty-three more

tīrthankaras, before him, each appearing with a span of few centuries from his predecessors

Some scholars doubt the historicity of these *tīrthankaras*, except the last two, i e of Pārśva and Mahāvīra Pārśva's predecessor Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha is said to have connected with the legend of Kṛṣṇa as his relative He is said to have died 84,000 years before Mahāvīra's *nirvāna* Similarly, Pārśva, the son of the ruler of Kāśī, lived and preached his religion about 250 years before Mahāvīra, i e in the (c eighth century BC) and his teachings were contiguous to the teachers about self abjugation, known in Bihar during his time [4]

In spite of its remote antiquity Jainism first flourished as an organised and methodical form of religious creed in eastern India in the sixth century BC Mahāvīra, like Basava of the Vira-Śaivas or the Liṅgāyats in Karnataka, gave the real shape of a religion He claims no originality for his doctrine [5] He reformulated the system which already existed and there were other followers of Pārśva even before Mahāvīra became a '*Jina*' and main spokesman for the Nirganthas as the Jainas were known by that term in the sixth century BC Mahāvira however, more heavily emphasized the ascetic rules for the monks than had Pārsva Mahāvīra may have noted the moral laxities found in contemporary monks whether Jaina, Buddhist or Ājivika He set an unusually high standard of ascetic morality which has led to regard him as an originator of this system of philosophy and religion

Again, if we think of them in the historical probability of a 'succession of teachers', we can come to the definite conclusions that outside the pale of Vedic culture and religion especially in eastern India the pre-Vedic and non-Vedic ideas had a long tradition of continuity We have already pointed out that there were persons believing in different faiths and institutions fighting for the cause of their survival and development and that some of the pre Vedic ideas and practices were revived by the Buddha, Mahāvīra and other in the reformistic movements, launched by them Jacobi's observation in this connection is worth noting —"These particulars about the religion of the Jainas previous to the reform of Mahāvīra are so matter of-fact like, that it is impossible to deny that they may have been handed down by a trustworthy tradition"[6] These *tīrthankaras* belonging to a community later on known as the Parivrājakas wandered from one place to other along with their

followers, and propounded their respective views on religion and philosophy

To the Jainas all the *tīrthankaras* after attaining *nirvāna* are treated by them as gods Jacobi thus points out that "All *tīrthankaras* have reached *nirvāna* at their death Though being released from the world, they neither care for nor have any influence on worldly affairs, they have nevertheless become the object of worship and are regarded as the 'gods' (*deva*) by the Jainas, temples are erected to them where their idols are worshipped The favourite *tīrthankaras* are the first and the three last ones, but temples of the remaining ones are also met with The worship of the idols of the *tīrthankaras* is already mentioned in some canonical books, but no rules for their worship are given, it was, however, already in full sway in the first century of our era, as evidenced by the *Paumacariya*, the oldest *Prākrit-kāvya* of the Jainas, and by the statues of *tīrthankaras* found in ancient sites, e g , in the Kankālī mound at Mathura which belongs to this period '[7]

It may be recalled that twenty out of twenty-four *tīrthankaras* from Rṣabhanatha to Mahāvīra attained their *nirvāna* on the crest of the Sameta-sikhara (*Samādhi-sikhara*) in the Pareśa-nātha hill in the Hazaribagh district, Bihar[8] Eastern India, particularly Bihar and Bengal, was the cradle in which the Jaina *tīrthankaras* staged the entire drama of their career The boundary of their activities gradually expanded itself with the progress of time so as to include Orissa, Assam and some portions of upper Gangetic valley The Jaina canonical texts like the *Kalpa sūtra* and the *Samavāyānga* provide adequate information regarding the religious performance of some of these *tīrthankaras*, viz , Rsabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārsvanātha and Mahāvīra For a proper understanding of the subsequent investigation, a list of the twenty-four *tīrthankaras* of this age alongwith their parentage, birthplace, *lāñchana*, Ganadhara, Yakṣa and Yaksinī, etc , is given in a tabular form on pp 22-25

The tabulation shows that each and every one of the *tīrthankaras* has a discriminative symbol or *lāñchana* for himself, and this is always found on Jaina icons representing them, i e the symbol of Pārśva is a hooded snake, and that of Mahāvīra a lion[9] The Jaina canonical texts are full of evidences about the name of the twenty-four *tīrthankaras* in the order in which they appeared and about their life-span, sometimes their activities as well as teachings Of course, there are certain accounts relating to the longevity of

the *tīrthankaras* but these are in no way acceptable except the last two, as authentic For example, Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthankara* is believed to have lived for 8,400,000 years (one *pūrva* year is considered to be equivalent to 70,560,000,000 years), twenty-second *tīrthankara*, Nemi, for 1000 years, the twenty-third, Pārśvanātha, for 100 years and the last one, Mahāvīra, for 72 years [10]

An outline of the biographies of some of the *tīrthankaras* would be presented with adequate consideration from the outlook of history

ṚṢABHANĀTHA

Ṛṣabhanātha, also known as Ādinātha, is said to be the first *tīrthankara* of the present era In his previous birth he was a god in *Sarvārthasiddhi* (a celestial world), and was conceived by Merudevi, the wife of Nābhi, the seventh *kulakara* (the patriarchs) [11] This epoch as well as his birth were celebrated by gods with eclat, and equally so were his marriage and coronation He was married to Sumaṅgalā, his own twin sister and Sunandā whose brother (born as a twin) had died in childhood [12] The Jaina text mentions his hundred sons including Bharata [13] It is believed that he renounced his kingdom in favour of his sons and embraced the life of an ascetic He is credited to have taught seventy two arts (*bavattarim kalao*) to men and sixty-four to women The beginnings of human civilisation are associated with him [14] The Vedas [15] and the Purānas [16] also speak of him Ṛsabha, king of Kosala, after deep and prolonged meditation received the highest knowledge called *kevala*

He had an excellent community of 84,000 *śramanas*, 300,000 nuns and other lay votaries It is recorded in the *Āvaśyakaniryukti* [17], a work written after the first century AD, that Rsabha in course of his wanderings visited countries like Jonaga and Suvannabhūmi He like Mahāvīra had to suffer a lot in the hands of people, [18] while he visited the places like Koṅka, Veṅka, Kutaka and south Karṇāṭaka [19]

A reference to a king of Ayodhya named Ṛṣabha is found in the *Rāmāyana* [20] It is indeed tempting to identify this Ṛṣabha with the first Jaina *tīrthankara* since both are connected with Ayodhya But it will be hazardous to draw any conclusion in this regard depend-

THE JAINA TĪRTHANKARAS

Sl No	Name	Parents	Birthplace/ place of dīkṣā	Complexion	Vimāna or Vāhana
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Ṛṣabhanātha/ Ādinātha	Nābhirāja by Merudevi	Vinittanagari in Kośala and Purimatāla	Golden	Sarvātha-siddha
2	Ajitanātha	Jitasatru by Vijayamātā	Ayodhyā	Golden	Vijaya-vimāna
3	Sambhavanātha	Jitari by Senāmātā	Śrāvastī	Golden	Uvarīmagari-veka
4	Abhinandana	Sambararāja by Siddhārtha	Ayodhyā	Golden	Jayanta vimāna
5	Sumatinātha	Megharāja by Maṅgalā	Ayodhyā	Golden	Jayanta-vimāna
6	Padmaprabhā	Śridhara by Susimā	Kauśāmbi	Red (*rakta*)	Uvarīma-graiveka
7	Supārśvanātha	Pratiṣṭharāja by Pṛthvī	Vārāṇasī	Golden	Madhyama-graiveka
8	Candraprabha	Mahāsenarāja by Lakṣmanā	Candrapura	White (*subhra/ dhavala*)	Vijayanta
9	Suvidhinātha/ Puṣpadanta	Sugrivaraja by Rāmārāṇi	Kānaṇḍina-gari	White (*śubhra/ dhavala*)	Ānanta-devaloka
10	Śītalanātha	Dṛḍharatha-raja by Nandā	Bhadrapurā (Bhadila-pura)	Golden	Acyuta-devaloka
11	Śreyāmśanātha/ Śreyasa	Viṣṇurāja by Viṣṇā	Simhapura	Golden	Acyuta-devaloka
12	Vasupūjya	Vasupujya by Jayā	Campāpuri	Red (*rakta*)	Prāṇata-devaloka

Lāñachana (cognizance)	*Dīkṣā-Vṛkṣa*	*First Ganadhara*	*First Āryā*	*Attendant Spirits Yakṣa & Yakṣiṇī*
7	8	9	10	11
Balada/Vṛṣa (the bull)	Bodhi tree vaṭa (banyan tree)	Puṇḍarika	Brāhmī	Gomukha, Cakreśvarī
Hasti/Gaja (the elephant)	Śala	Simhasena	Phālgu	Mahāyakṣa, Ajitabalā (Rohiṇī according to the Digambaras)
Aśva/(the horse) *Ghodā*	Prayāla	Cāru	Śyāmā	Trimukha, Duritāra (prañjāpati, according to the Digambaras)
Vānara (the ape) Kapi/ *Plavaga*	Priyamgu	Vajranābha	Ajitā	Nāyaka, Kālikā (Yakṣesvara & Vajraśṛṅkhalā according to the Digambaras)
Krauñca (the curlew) Brāhmani (the red goose, according to the Digambaras)	Śāla	Carama	Kāśyapi	Tumburu, Mahākāli (Puruṣadattā, according to the Digambaras)
Padma/Abja Kamala (a lotus)	Chatra	Pradyotana	Rati	Kusuma, Śyāmā (Manovegā or Manogupti according to the Digambaras)
Svastika	Śirīṣa	Vidirbha	Somā	Mataṅga, Śāntā (Varanandī, Kālī according to the Di, ambaras)
Candra/Śaśi (moon)	Nāga tree	Dinna	Sumanā	Vijaya, Bhṛkuṭī, (Śyāma, Jvalāmalini according to the Digambaras)
Makara	Śāla	Varāhaka	Vāruni	Ajita, Sutārakā (Mahakāli or Ajitā according to the Digambaras)
Śrīvatsa figure Śrī Vṛkṣa, (according to the Digam baras	Priyaṁgu	Nanda	Sujasā	Brahmā, Aśokā (Mānavī, according to the Digam baras)
Gaṇḍa (the rhinoceros) Garuḍa according to the Digambaras)	Taṇḍuka-tree	Kaśyapa	Dhāraṇī	Yakṣet, Mānavi, (Īśvara, Gaurī according to the Digambaras)
Mahiṣi (female buffalo)	Pātala (Bagnonia Suaveolens)	Subhuma	Dhāraṇī	Kumāra, Candā (Gandhari, according to the Digambaras)

1	2	3	4	5	6
13	Vimalanātha	Kṛtavarmarāja by Śyāmā	Kampilyapura	Golden	Mahāsāra-devaloka
14	Anantajit Anantanātha	Simhasena by Suyaśa	Ayodhyā	Golden	Prāṇatha-devaloka
15	Dharmanātha	Bhānurāja by Suvrita	Ratnapurī	Golden	Vijayavimāna
16	Śāntinātha	Visvasena by Acirā	Gajapura/ Hastināpuri	Golden	Sarvārtha-siddha
17	Kunthunātha	Sūrarāja by Śrīrāṇi	Gajapura	Golden	Sarvārtha-siddha
18	Aranātha	Sudarśana by Devīrāṇī	Gajapura	Golden	Sarvārtha-siddh
19	Mallinātha*	Kumbharāja by Prabhāvatī	Mathurā	Blue (*nila*)	Jayanta-devaloka
20	Munisuvrata/ Muni/Suvrata	Sumitrarāja by Padmāvatī	Rajagṛha	Black (*śyāma/ asita*)	Aparājita-devaloka
21	Naminātha/ Nimi/Nimeśvara	Vijayarāja by Viprārāṇī	Mathurā	Yellow	Prāṇata-devaloka
22	Neminātha/ Ariṣṭanemi	Samudravijaya by Śivādevi	Sauripura & Ujjinta (Girnar)	Black	Aparājita-devaloka
23	Pārśvanātha	Aśvasenarāja by Vāmādevi	Vārāṇasī & Sameta-Śikhara	Blue (*nīla*)	Prāṇata-devaloka
24	Mahāvira/ Vardhamāna	Siddhārtharāja/ Śreyāmsa Yaśasvin by Triśalā Videha-dinna/Priyakāriṇī	Kundagrāma & Rijupālaka	Yellow	Prāṇata-devaloka

*Malli according to Śvetāmbaras (*Nāyādhammakahāo*, chapter 8) was a woman to which the Digambaras do not agree

7	8	9	10	11
Varāha/Śūkara (a bear)	Jambu (Eugenia Jambolana)	Mandara	Dharā	Ṣaṇmukha, Viditā, (Vairoti, according to the Digambaras)
Śyena (a falcon Bhallul (a bear according to the Digambaras)	Aśoka tree (Jonesia Aśoka)	Jasa	Padmā	Pātāla, Aṅkuśa (Anantamati, according to the Digambaras)
Vajra (thunderbolt)	Dadhiparṇa tree (Clitoria ternat?)	Ariṣṭa	Arthaśiva	Kinnara, Kandarpā (Mānasī, according to the Digambaras)
Mṛga (an antelope)	Nandī	Cakrāyudha	Suci	Garuḍa, Nirvāṇī (Kimpuruṣa, Mahāmānasī according to the Digambaras)
Aja/Chāgala (a goat)	Bhilaka tree	Sāmba	Dāminī	Gandharva, Balā (Vijayā, according to Digambaras)
Nandyāvarta dia gram *mīna*—the Zodiacal pisces (according to the Digambaras)	Āmra (mango tree)	Kumbha	Rakṣita	Yakṣeṭa, Dhaṇā (Kendra & Ajitā, according to the Digambaras)
Kumbham/Kalaśa/ Ghaṭa (a jar)	Aśoka tree	Abhikṣaka	Bandhumati	Kubera, Dharanapriyā, Aparājitā (according to the Digambaras)
Kūrma (a tortoise)	Campaka (Michelia Champaka)	Malli	Puṣpavati	Varuṇa, Naradattā (Bahurūpini, according to the Digambaras)
Nilotpala (blue water), Asoka tree (according to the Digambaras)	Bakula (Mimusupselengi)	Śubha	Anilā	Bhṛkuṭi, Gandhārī or Cāmuṇḍā (according to the Digambaras)
Śaṅkha (conch)	Veṭasa	Varadatta	Yakṣadinnā	Gomedha, Ambikā, (Sarvāhaṇa, Kuṣmāṇḍinī, according to the Digambaras)
Sarpa (serpent)	Dhātakī (Grislea tomentasa)	Āryadinna	Puṣpacūḍā	Parśvayakṣa or Dharanendra and Padmāvatī
Keśarī, Simha (lion)	Śāla	Indrabhūti	Candrabalā	Mātaṅga, Siddhāyikā

ing on such evidence alone In fact the name Ṛṣabha is found in the *Mahābhārata* both as king,[21] and as an ascetic [22] The great epic also refers to a *tīrtha* after the name of Ṛṣabha, which lay in the Ayodhya region, the birth-place of the first *tīrthankara* [23]

The *Bhāgavata-purāna*[24] gives us a detailed information including the lineage of the first *tīrthankara* of the Jainas, Ṛṣabhanātha He led a married life for some time and one of his sons was the famous Bharata A few years later he led an ascetic life having discarded the practice of wearing clothes Elsewhere the same Purāna[25] describes that he was initiated into asceticism directly as an *Paramahamsa*, the highest stage in asceticism He is also described as an incarnation (*avatāra*) of Visnu [26] It seems that the first Jaina *tīrthankara* was accepted as an incarnation of Visṇu by the Hindus as early as the time of the composition of this Purāna,[27] if not earlier, probably at the time when the founder of Buddhism, Gautama Buddha, was accepted as an *avatāra* of the same deity

It is also to be noted in this connection that the account of the *Bhāgavata-purāna* about Ṛṣabha's *Paramahamsa* initiation shows the existence of the supreme order of asceticism from the time of inception of this religious order

Even the antiquity of this *tīrthankara*, as propounded by some scholars can be surmised from the archaeological evidences too Thus the *kāyotsarga yoga* pose of sitting and standing images engraved on the seals of Mohenjodaro, Harappa and Lothal are identified as Rsabha's images [28] Again if we are to believe the reading of a seal inscription by Pran Nath,[29] the prevalence of Jainism at that time is confirmed However, it is clear that nude images like those of the Digambara Jainas used to be made by the Indus people[30] and this goes to establish the greater antiquity of the religious ideas of nudity as held by the Digambara Jainas Jainism is however, considered as the oldest of non Aryan group Zimmer thus opines—"There is truth in the Jaina idea, their religion goes back to the remote antiquity, the antiquity in question being that of the pre-Aryan, so called Dravidian period, which has recently been dramatically disillusioned by the discovery of a series of great Late Stone Age cities in the Indus Valley dating from the third and even perhaps fourth millennium BC "[31]

Although Jacobi regarded Pārśvanātha as a historical figure and the founder of Jainism, his further remark relating to this matter is very significant In his opinion "there is nothing to prove that

Pārśva was the founder of Jainism Jaina tradition is unanimous in making Ṛṣabha, the first *tīrthankara* (its founder) There may be something historical in the tradition which makes him the first *tīrthankara* "[32]

As regards the religious activities and historical events in the lives of the *tīrthankaras* right from second to twenty-first our sources of information are conspicuously silent It is rather unwise to make any assessment on the basis of such meagre and controversial evidences And so far these evidences are concerned there is, in fact, nothing of importance and significance in their lives, at least, from the historical perspective to be noted

NEMINĀTHA

The twenty-second *tīrthankara*, Nemi or Aristanemi, is regarded by some scholars as the historical personage, while others treated him as a mythical one He is referred to in the Pāli literature The *Dhammika sutta* of the *Anguttaranikāya* speaks of Aranemi as one of the six *tīrthankaras* (*sathare tīrthankara*) [33] Nagendranath Vasu in his introduction to the *Harivamśa-purāna* argued in favour of the historicity of Lord Nemi [34] He is referred to as a cousin of Lord Krsna [35] Nemi, son of Samudravijaya by Śivā was born in Sauripura Samudravijaya is described as the eldest brother of Vasudeva [36] Nemināthа was younger in age than Krsna Vāsudeva, the son of Vasudeva

The Jaina *Harivamśa* affords us an interesting episode relating to Nemi's strength, valour and prowess It is stated that while Kṛṣṇa was sitting in the council chamber with his relatives and friends, Neminātha appeared there Kṛṣṇa rising up from his seat, went forward to welcome him Neminātha occupied the chair which Kṛṣṇa was occupying Councillors began to discuss among themselves as to who was the strongest person in the world They mentioned in this connection several names like Bhima, Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa, etc, but Baladeva uttered that none was so strong as Neminātha Hearing this Kṛṣṇa requested the latter to have a trial of strength through a wrestling bout with him Neminātha replied, 'Oh elder brother, if you want to test my strength you try to move my feet from this throne' Kṛṣṇa failed to do so and from that occasion he showed greater regards for him [37] Elsewhere Kṛṣṇa asked his

sixteen thousand wives to play with Neminātha in a bower in the forest of Girnar hills[38]

Neminātha was betrothed to Rājimatī, daughter of Ugrasena and sister of Kamsa It is stated that hearing the piteous cries of a large number of birds and beasts collected for the wedding feast, Nemi refused to marry He shuddered at this very idea of Rājimatī's father and turned back[39] He left the world to perform austerities[40] At the end of a year he took *dīkṣā* and soon attained Omniscience He founded a *tīrtha* as is expected of every *tīrthankara*.

PĀRŚVANĀTHA

The twenty-third *tīrthankara* of the Jainas, Pārśvanātha, who flourished 250 years before Mahāvīra or Nigantha Nataputta at Benares, the most reputed cultural and religious centre of India from time immemorial, was born to Aśvasena, probably a tribal chief, and queen Vāmā The *Pārśvanātha-carita* of Bhavadeva Suri (composed in VS 1412) furnishes an exhaustive and vivid description of the history of Pārśva[41] In fact, "the lives of these *tīrthankaras* are found fully worked out both in the Jaina canonical literature and in individual *caritras* (life sketches) written by various Jaina *Gurus*"[42] He married Prabhāvatī[43] who was daughter of a king of Ayodhya At the age of thirty he renounced the world, and within a short period he became omniscient and *tīrthankara* It is stated in the Jaina texts that "after fasting three and a half days without drinking water, he put on a divine robe and together with 300 men entered the state of houselessness"[44] On the eighty-fourth day of his deep meditation Pārśva reached *kevala* Subsequently he had "an excellent community of 16,000 *śramanas* with Āryadatta at their head" There were numerous others with separate heads, such as, 38,000 nuns, 164,000 lay-votaries, 327,000 female lay-votaries and a few thousands more belonging to the higher grade of religious qualification[45] Keśi is reported to be the famous disciple of Pārśva[46]

It evidently shows the popularity of the Parivrājaka as well as the Parivrājikā of the Jaina community long before the time of Mahāvīra He is said to have attained *nirvāna* (salvation) in 177 BC on the Sameta-śikhara which is called today the Pareśanātha (Pārśvanātha) hill which lies on the Bengal-Bihar border His mother and

wife became his first disciples and gradually he received a large number of followers He preached his doctrine for nearly seventy years Some Niganthas like Vappa (the Buddha's uncle),[47] Upali,[48] Abhaya,[49] Aggivessayana, Saccaka,[50] Digha Tapassi [51] Asibandhakaputta Gamini,[52] Siha,[53] etc are lay followers, while Sacca, Lola, Avavadika, Patacara, etc are lay women followers of the Pārśvanātha tradition,[54] and later on they had become the followers of the Nigantha Nataputta [55] Moreover, the discussion between the disciples of Pārśva and Mahāvīra confirms the historicity of Pārśva and it also demonstrates that the sect of Pārśva came to be amalgamated with the Nigranthas [56] It is interesting to note that at the place of Tuṅgiyā[57] five hundred pupils of Pārśva embraced the five *mahāvratas*[58] of Mahāvīra, which was essentially the advanced form *Caturyamās* of Pārśvanātha Two interesting points which emerge from their discussions may be mentioned in this connection first, that Pārsva omitted the vow of celibacy because he included it in the vow of possessionlessness The absence of its specific mention however led to corruption which was set right by Mahāvīra's inclusion of celibacy as a distinct vow Secondly, Pārśva allowed an upper and an under garment to his disciples while Mahāvīra recommended complete nudity, the explanation being that there is really no conflict in this for Pārsva's direction was with the purpose of giving his disciples a characteristic mark to distinguish them from other, while Mahāvīra's nudity symbolised that knowledge, faith and right conduct are the true causes of final liberation and not outward marks [59] He had propounded four *yāmas* instead of the five *Mahāvratas* These vows differ only in number, otherwise, in their application and significance, they are equal [60] The *Cātuyāma-samvara*, which is attributed to the Nigaṇṭha Nataputta in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta*, is in reality a teaching of Pārsvanātha [61]

The dialogue between Keśi and Goyama[62] distinctly proves that in spite of some minor differences, the doctrines of Mahāvira were in close agreement with those of Pārsva To understand this interpretation of Jacobi we have to know beforehand that the original religion of Pārśva had laid down four great vows for the guidance of his followers, and they are as follows *Ahimsā* (non-killing), *Sunrta* (truthful speech), *Asteya* (not stealing), and *Aparigraha* (renouncing of all illusory objects) Mahāvīra being a reformer also saw that in the society in which he was moving *Brahmacarya*—

chastity—must be made a separate vow, quite distinct from the *Aparigraha* vow of Pārśvanātha [63]

Referring to this reformation in the Jaina order by Mahāvīra Jacobi observes "The argumentation in the text presupposes a decay of the morals of the monastic order to have occurred between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, and this is possible only on the assumption of sufficient interval of time having elapsed between the last two *tīrthankaras*, and this perfectly agrees with the common tradition that Mahāvīra came 250 years after Pārśva "[64]

The *Kalpa sūtra*[65] informs us that Pārśva had organised the Jaina order by bringing all his disciples under eight classes, each headed by a Ganadhara The mention of nuns and lay women suggests that he did not neglect women The *Nāyā-dhammakahāo*[66] speaks of a number of lay women who became followers of Pārśva's religion It also narrates the story of an old maiden called Kāli who joined the ascetic order of Pārsva [67] Pupphacūlā, the chief lady disciple of Pārsva, converted one Bhūyā, the daughter of a merchant of Rājagrha called Sudarsana, to this religion [68] All these evidences tend us to believe that Pārśva had no hesitation to allow women to embrace the ascetic life

Pārśva's four vows show that he based his order of monks on solid moral principles and his first vow of *ahimsā* suggests that he raised his voice of protest against the animal sacrifices of Vedic Brāhmanas The concept of *ahimsā* is in a distinct manner analysed in an earlier part of the *Ācārānga sūtra* "Some slay (animals) for sacrificial purposes, some kill for the sake of their skin, some kill for the sake of their blood, thus for the sake of their heart, their teeth, their tusks, their sinews, their bones, with a purpose or without a purpose Some kill animals because they have been wounded by them, or are wounded or will be wounded

"He who injures these (animals) does not comprehend and renounce the sinful acts, he who does not injure these, comprehends and renounces the sinful acts Knowing them, a wise man should not act sinfully towards animals, nor cause others to act so, nor allow others to act so He who knows these causes of sin relating to animals, is called a reward knowing sage "[69]

In fact, the Jaina community had spread well even in those early days throughout a large part of northern India "His Jainism prevailed from Bengal to Gujarat The districts Maldah and Bogra were great centres of his faith ' [70]

MAHĀVĪRA

Mahāvīra, the last *tīrthankara* of the Jainas, appeared in the field of religion in the eastern horizon of India when a few hundred religious teachers professed their respective views We have already given a cursory account of the contemporary religious teachers with their respective philosophical affiliation in the introductory portion of our study It is to be noted that different heretical groups that existed contemporaneously gradually came into closer and at the end merged either with the Jainas, or with the Bauddhas, or with the Brāhmanical schools of thoughts In fact, these different Lokāyata, or heretical groups have contributed many basic ideals to both Jainism and Buddhism, which in all essentials had grown on the soil of the ancient intellectual stratum Mahāvīra[71] also styled as Nigantha Nataputta,[72] stands the last *tīrthankara* whose preachings fully breathe the spirit of the 'Eastern stream of thought in India' Nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, Vaiśāli (modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar) was a prosperous capital, a suburb of it was called Kuṇḍapura or Kundagrāma[73] or Kṣatriyakunda, and here in the palace of king Siddhārtha (Siddhattha) of his Kstriyānī queen Trisalā[74] (also known by Priyakārini and Videhadattā), Mahāvīra was born According to Jaina legends, while she was pregnant Triśalā had fourteen dreams[75] from which it was understood that the child would be either a Universal monarch (*cakravarti*) or a *tīrthankara* But there is also another tradition which gave great importance to Mahāvīra's Ksatriya and not Brāhmana descent It is stated that Mahāvīra was originally conceived into the womb of Brāhmana woman, Devanandā, who was the wife of Ṛṣabhadatta, but the god Indra, thinking that the would-be *tīrthankara* should belong to a noble family, got his embryo transferred from the womb of Devanandā to that of Triśalā through his agent Harinegamesi (Naigameśa)[76]

He was also known by Śreyāmsa (Sijjamasa) and Yaśasvin (*Jasamsi*), Vaddhamana (Vardhamāna) 'the promoter' or 'the prospering one', Vaiśaliya, Vadehadinna, Jñātriputra, Sanmati, etc The form 'Jñātriputra' occurs in Jaina and north Indian Buddhist texts, in Pali, it is Nāṭaputta and in Jain Prākrt Nayaputta[77] It shows that Mahāvira was born in the *Jñātri* clan of the Vajjis who were undoubtedly powerful rulers at that time at Vaisāli and was

well connected from his parents' side According to Rhys Davids and Cunningham, the Vajjis to whom the *Jñātris* belonged were a large confederacy which had within its fold at least eight clans (*attha kulas*), of which the Videhans, the Licchavis, the *Jñātris* and the Vajjis proper were the foremost

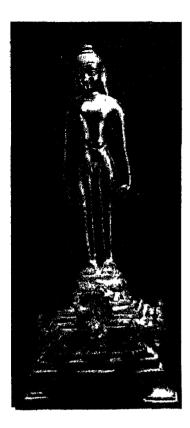
The traditional date of Mahāvīra's birth is 599 BC, but scholars generally prefer to fix his date in 539 BC

Tradition is not unanimous about his marriage, according to the Digambara tradition, he was a celibate throughout, while the Śvetāmbara tradition maintained that he married Yaśodā belonging to the Kaundinya *gotra* and had a daughter called Priyadarśanā *alias* Anujā or Anodyā [78] As a prince, having excellent connections with ruling dynasties of his times, it was expected of him to rule with authority and enjoy the pleasures of prosperous career after his father But that was not to be When he was twenty-eight years old his parents died He then wanted to renounce the world, but, owing to the pressure of his elder brother Nandivardhana[79] he waited for a couple of years and then started to lead the life of an ideal ascetic At the age of thirty after taking permission from elder brother, he left for the park of *Nāyasamda*[80] which was situated near his home town There under an *Aśoka* tree[81] he gave up all his ornaments and finery and then plucked out his hair in five handfuls [82] According to the *Kalpa sūtra*[83] Mahāvīra retained his cloth for thirteen months and then wandered about naked During this period Gośāla, 'an early antinomian', became his disciple, but after six years he separated himself from Mahāvīra After twelve years of severe penance Mahāvira attained omniscience (*kevala*), corresponding to the Bodhi of the Buddhists, under a Śāla tree on the bank of the river Rjupālikā near a village called Jrmbhikagrāma and became a *tīrthankara* The place of Mahāvira's *kevala-darśan* is, according to some, at the feet of some Śāla trees on the bank of a river, Rjupālikā at the foot of Paresanātha hill,[84] while others think that it was situated in the eastern part of U P

Having attained salvation, Vardhamāna Mahāvīra first preached sermons to his disciples (*ganadharas*), viz, Indrabhuti, Agnibhūti, Vāyubhūti, Āryavyuka, Ārya Sudharman, Mandiputra, Mauryaputra, Akampita, Acalabhrātr, Metarya and Prabhāsa [85]

The Jaina legends mention names the of different rulers Mahāvīra visited and tell how Cetaka, the president of the great tribal

1 Bronze Jaina image from Chausa Bihar, c early 4th cent. AD Patna Museum Patna

2 Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Palma, Bihar c 12th cent. AD Patna Museum, Patna

3 Bronze image of Mahāvīra from Palma, Bihar c 12th cent AD Patna Museum Patna

4 Bronze image of Pārśvanātha from Chausa Bihar c early 4th cent AD Patna Museum Patna

5 Bronze image of Pārśvanātha with the representation of *navagrahas* Palma Bihar, c 12th cent AD, Patna Museum Patna

6 Stone image of Pārśvanātha Bengal, c 10th-11th cent AD Asutosh Museum Calcutta

7 Bronze image of Kunthanātha Palma Bihar, *c* 12th cent AD Patna Museum Patna

8 Image of Candraprabha *Caumukha* Jaina shrine Purulia Bengal *c* 11th cent AD Asutosh

9 Stone image of Śāntinātha Charampa, Bhadraka (Orissa) *c* 9th cent AD

10 Bronze image of Candraprabha, Kakatpur Orissa, c 11th AD, Asutosh Museum Calcutta

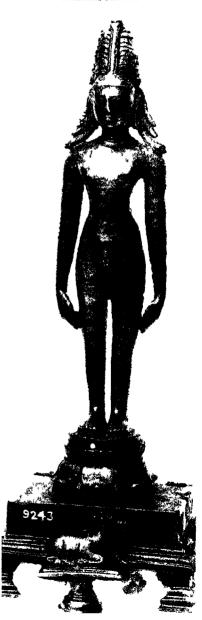
11 Bronze image of Candraprabha Palma Bihar c 12th cent AD Patna Museum Patna

12 Stone image of Ajitanâtha Charampa, Bhadraka (Orissa), c 9th-10th cent. AD

13 Image of Padmaprabha
Vaiśālī Bihar c 10th cent. AD

14 Bronze image of Rsabhadeva
Chausa, Bihar, c early 4th cent. AD
Patna Museum, Patna

15 Bronze image of Rsabhanâtha Palma, Bihar *c* 12th cent AD, Patna Museum, Patna

16 Bronze image of Rsabhanâtha, from Orissa *c* 11th cent AD Indian Museum, Calcutta

17 Stone image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Purulia Bengal
c 11th cent AD, Asutosh Museum Calcutta

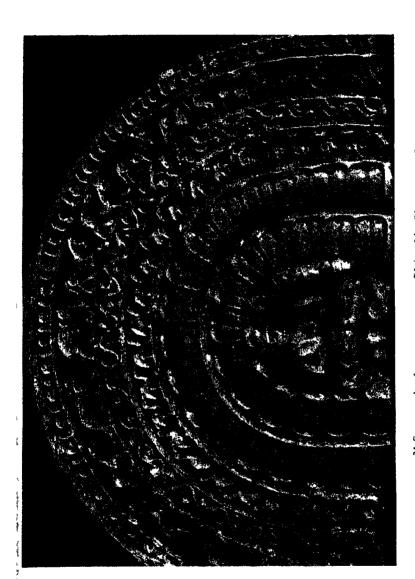
18 Bronze image of Rsabhanātha from Manbhum Bihar c 12th cent AD Asutosh Museum Calcutta

19 Stele of black basalt carved with seated Rsabhadeva an *tirthankaras* standing in *Kāyotsarga mudrā*. Sat Deyulia Burdwan district Bengal c 10th-11th cent AD State Archaeological Gallery West Bengal

20 Miniature Jaina *Caumukha* Shrine from Orissa *c* 11th-12th cent AD

21 Miniature Jaina shrine with the representations of four *tīrthankaras* in *Kāyotsarga mudrā* on the four sides Badkola Bankura district, *c* 11th cent AD

'2 Rsabhanātha c 11th-12th cent AD Asutosh Museum Calcutta

23 Jaina miniature shrine from Purulia Bengal representing a *tīrthankara* image on one of the four sides c 10th cent AD State Archaeological Gallery West Bengal

24 Semi-circular Jaina image in centre Pārśvanātha Bhuvaneswar Orissa
India Museum Calcutta

confederacy of the east, became a patron of his order, and Kuṇika king of Magadha, also a staunch follower of him He used to wander for eight months of the year and spend four months of the rainy seasons in Campā and Pṛṣṭicampā twelve rainy seasons at Vaisāli and its suburb Vāṇijyagrāma, fourteen at Rājagṛha six in Mithilā, two in Bhadrikā and the remaining four of the 42 years of his itinerary respectively, at Ālabhikā Punitabhūmi, Śrāvastī and Pāvāpurī [86] It is stated in the Jaina text that 'at first he wandered single, but now he had surrounded himself with many monks and teaches everyone of them the law at length "[87] He had an excellent community of 14 000 *śramanas* with Indrabhūti at their head and 36,000 nuns with Candanā at their head and of innumerable lay votaries and hundreds of sages to preach his tenets [88] At the age of seventy-two, Mahāvira passed away in perfect health while delivering his last sermon,[89] at Pāvā which, it is widely believed, is to be near Nālandā in Bihar [90] The *Kalpa-sūtra* states that "The venerable ascetic Mahāvīra lived thirty years as a householder and then twelve years and six months and a full half month more a sage only in outward guise (*Chadmastha*, that is, an ascetic not yet possessed of perfect knowledge), thirty years less six a holy month in the exercise of perfect wisdom, altogether having lived seventy-two years "[91]

After the demise of Mahāvira the leadership of all the four orders of Jaina community viz monks nuns laymen and lay-women, fell on his disciple Indrabhūti who was the head of the Jaina organisation for a period of twelve years [92] He was succeeded by Sudharman the fifth of the eleven *ganadharas* who also held that post for another twelve years The *Kalpa-sūtra* gives a list of these *ganadharas* starting with Sudharman and ends with the thirty-third patriarch Śāndilya or Skandila In most of the cases their names and *gotras* are given, but there is also an elaborate list from the sixth, Bhadravāhu to the fourteenth, Vajrasena which adds more details i e the disciples of each patriarch and of the sects and branches (*gana kula* and *śākhā*) originating with them [93] In this connection it may by mentioned that we have also later lists of teachers (*Gurvāvali Paṭṭāvali*) of different sects (*Gacchas* etc) which give a summary account from Mahāvīra down to the founder of the sect in question, and then a more detailed one of the line of descent from the latter downward, and with particulars of subsequent heads of the sect called Śrīpūjya So

far as the later and regional history of Jainism is concerned these lists are of immense value [94] Sudharman was succeeded by Jambusvāmī who led community for twenty-four years Subsequent leaders were Prabhāva, Sayambhava, Yaśobhadra Sambhūtavijaya and Bhadravāhu

The *Uvāsagadasāo*[95] speaks of the following ten devotees of Mahāvīra who led the life of householders (1) Ānanda and his wife, (2) Kāmadeva, (3) Culanipiya, (4) Suradeva, (5) Cullasayaga, (6) Kuṇḍakoliya (who met Gośāla but remained unshaken in the faith of Mahāvīra), (7) Saddālaputta, (8) Mahāsayaga (who came out of temptations to sensual enjoyments of the hands of Revai), (9) Nandiṇipāyā, and (10) Sīlihipiya (who led spiritual lives very peacefully)

We have already mentioned that Jainism is not the creation of Mahāvīra, on the other hand, tradition also avers its origin from a hoary antiquity through twenty-four *tīrthankaras* Before him, Pārśva has preached his own faith and organised the Jaina community While comparing between the two Pārsva preached four vows while Mahāvīra five instead, as already referred to The fifth vow of celibacy instead of by Mahāvīra was implied in the fourth vow (*a-parigraha*) of Pārsva It shows that Mahāvīra did nothing but mention explicitly what Pārśva implied

Besides celibacy nudity was also stressed upon by Mahāvīra who said—"I have laid down the duty of nudity",[96] while Pārsva allowed the use of two garments to his disciples The duty of '*Pratikramana*' is also ascribed to Mahāvīra who imposed it as an obligatory rule on all his disciples to confess and condemn all transgressions [97] According to Jacobi, Mahāvīra might have borrowed these rigid rules from the *Acelakas* or the followers of Gośāla [98]

An historical analysis will reveal Mahāvira's contribution for the development and reorganisation of the Jaina faith and its institution Royal patronage, needless to point out, stimulated the circulation of the faith and its consolidation among the general masses Under him Jainism became one of the principal religious schools in eastern India He traversed many places of this region during his missionary tour and converted a large number of followers to his faith These were all possible due to his winning personality and a wonderful power of organisation, which resulted possibly in the strength of his *Samgha* with the help of not only

kings and aristocrats but also of ordinary people His chief disciples, *ganadharas* were all Brāhmaṇas and this suggests that like the Upanisads which were products of a section of Brāhmaṇas or Kṣatriyas who were spiritually awakened to rise against ritualism, Jainism was also supported by a section of the intellectual heads of the society, though it was open to all, irrespective of caste or status The fact that Mahāvīra did not give up ascetic practices like Buddha, deserves notice His penances proved helpful to the acquisition of the highest knowledge He had started preaching Jainism with an excellent staff of eleven *ganadharas*, each of whom had again many assistants During the life span of Mahāvīra, the faith with its well organised *Samgha* gained adequate momentum in eastern India but it gradually ceased to continue as one single unit Inspite of all his endeavour to the cause of unity and consolidation of the organisation Mahāvīra failed to achieve that position According to the Jaina texts[99] Mahāvīra had to face at least two schisms during his life-time and the other schisms took place after his demise

These differences ultimately led to the great schism[100] in the Jaina community in about AD 79 or 82—the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras The Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras were the two principal subsects in Jainism in the early centuries of the Christian era, but later on various *Samghas* emerged from these two main sub-sects The reason or reasons behind the schism (*nihnava*) that have occurred in the Jaina organisation cannot be determined definitely at the present state of our knowledge The Digambaras speak of a legend about the origin of division, which differs from the legend prevalent among the Śvetāmbaras[101] Again, the Śvetāmbara canonical works, such as, *Thāna* and the *Nijjutti*, *Bhāsa*, and *Mūlabhāsa* on *Āvassaya* and *Visesa vassayabhāsa* are noted seven schisms, whereas in Hemacandra Suri's commentary on *Visesa* are noted eight schisms, of which the first was organised by Mahāvīra's son-in-law, Jamāli, and eighth gave rise to the Digambara sect

The names of *dharmācāryas* associated with the seven schisms, the views they dogmatically asserted and the places where they were first declared, are given below in a tabular from[102]

To these seven schisms may be added the eighth known as *Botikadrsti* The founder of this *drṣṭi* was Śivabhūti alias Sahasramall[103] He insisted upon practising *jina-kalpa* (the other way of

Dharmācārya	View	Place	Date
a Jamāli (Mahāvīra's son in-law)	Bahuraya (Bahurata)	Savatthi (Śrāvasti)	543 BC
b. Tissagutta (Tiṣyagupta)	Jivapaesiya (Jivapradesaka)	Uṣabhapura or Rayagaha	541 BC
c. Āṣāḍha	Avvattaga (Avyaktaka)	Syetavi (Svetambi)	313 BC
d. Assamitta (Aśvamitra)	Samuccheiya (Samucchedika)	Mithilā	307 BC
e Gaṅga	Dokiāriya (Dvaikriya)	Ullakatira	299 BC
f Saduluya,	Rohagutta, Terasiya (Rohagupta)(Trirasika)	Antaranji	AD 17
g Gotthamahilla (Goṣtamahilla)	Abaddhiya (Abaddhiku)	Daśapura	AD 57

life to be led by the Jaina monks is *sthāvira-kalpa*), though he was dissuaded by Ācārya Āryakrsṇa from doing so He began to go about stark naked His sister Uttarā once came to him, and she, too undressed herself A *ganika* on seeing her naked, covered her body with a piece of cloth, though Uttarā did not like it Thereupon Uttarā informed Śivabhūti about this He persuaded her not to give up the cloth, for, he said that *firstly* it was given by a deity and *secondly* a naked woman presented a very ugly and indecent sight In course of time Śivabhūti gave *dīksā* to Kodinna (Sk Kaundinya) and Kottavīra and this resulted in the estab lishment of a sect known as Digambara But the Digambaras seem to be ignorant of the earlier schisms According to them under Bhadravāhu, an inhabitant of northern Bengal, rose the sect of *Ardhaphalakas*,[104] which in AD 80 developed into the Śvetāmbara sect[105] Jacobi thinks that the separation of the sections of the Jaina organisation took place gradually, an individual development going on in both groups living at a great distance from one another, and that they became aware of their mutual difference about the end of the first century AD But the difference is small in articles of faith[106] But there are some scholars who advocate that even during the life-time of Mahāvīra, the Jaina community was divided into two groups, one propounding and im tating the rigid life led by Mahāvīra who remained completely

unclad and the other leaning towards the line chalked out by Pārśvanātha This difference in the outlook was probably the chief reason for the culmination in the organisation On the other hand, there is another tradition according to which Bhadravāhu, a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya, during the time of his leadership a famine took place in Magadha, and for that reason a part of the community numbering twelve thousand, went with him to south India The remaining twelve thousand lived in Magadha under the leadership of Sthulabhadra,[107] who convened a Council at Pātaliputra for preserving the canonical literature The Pātaliputra Council collected the *Anga* texts eleven in number The twelfth *Anga*, containing fourteen *pūrva* texts, was found missing, but Sthulabhadra was not able to reconstruct it from memory The famine over, Bhadravāhu returned with his fellow brethren, but he refused to accept the proceedings of the Pātaliputra Council as valid Moreover, their brother-monks at Pātaliputra were not as rigid as themselves in the observance of vows, etc, and thus schism was inevitable among themselves

Rapson believes that it was about 300 BC "the great schism originated which has ever since divided the community into two great sects—the Śvetāmbaras andthe Digambaras."[108] But "the final separation between the two communities is no doubt reported not to have taken place before AD 79 or 82, but the list of teachers and schools in the *Kalpa-sūtra* and the numerous inscriptions from Mathura which date mostly from the time of the later Kuṣāṇa kings i e after AD 78, afford sufficient proof that the Śvetāmbara community was not only established but had become sub-divided into smaller sects at an earlier period This is especially clear from the frequent mention of nuns in the Mathura inscriptions, for it is only the Śvetāmbaras who give women admission into the order "[109] It is thus clear that the split between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras was of gradual evolution, spread over a long period and culminating in the post-Kuṣāna or the Gupta period.

However, both the sub-sects of the Jainas have almost all the philosophical doctrines in common, but they differ in subtle matters of doctrine and cult practices and each of these two sub-sects claims precedence over the other According to the Digambaras, the omniscient do not take food, monks cannot have any garment,[110] women cannot attain salvation in that very existence because of their sex, there can be no place for nuns in the Jaina monastic

order

Canonical norms and ritualistic procedures prescribed for the Jaina Parivrājakas are also different Before attempting to that point in the next chapter we should mention the names of different Jaina canonical texts, viz the *Angas*, the *Mūlasūtras*, the *Cheya-suttas* which throw a considerable light on the earliest stage of Jaina asceticism and the life of the Parivrājakas There are twelve *Angas*, namely, *Āyārānga Sūyagadānga Thānānga*, *Samayāyānga*, *Vivihapanatti* or *Bhagavatī-sūtra Nāyādhammakahāo*, *Uvāsaga-dasāo Antagadasāo*, *Anuttarovavāiyadasāo*, *Panhāvāgaranāim*, *Vivāgasuya* and *Diṭṭhivāya* Of these twelve *Angas* the first two—*Ācārānga* and *Sūtrakṛtānga* afford us simply the rules of monastic discipline and reveal rarely the rules of expiation and of *Samgha* hierarchy

The *Sūtra kṛtānga* also contains an exposition of the tenets and dogmas of other faith The *Jñātrdharmakathā* gives hints regarding religious preaching as well as stories and anecdotes calculated to carry moral conviction The *Upāsakādhyayana*, also called *Upāsaka-daśāka*, primarily deals with the religious code for householders The *Antakṛddāśaka* contains accounts of the ten saints who attained salvation after immense suffering, while the *Anuttarauppātika* records the name of ten saints who had gone to the highest heaven after enduring intense persecution The *Praśna-vyākarana* makes several accounts and episodes for the refutation of opposite views, establishment of one's own faith, promotion of holy deeds, and prevention of evil The *Vipāka-sūtra* explains how virtue was rewarded and evil punished The last one, i e , the *Drṣṭivāda* is lost and Weber[111] ascribes its loss to the fact that 'it had direct reference to the doctrines of the Schismatic' It has five sections, viz , *Pari-karmāni*, *Sūtra*, *Prathamānuyoga*, *Pūrvagata* (consisting of fourteen sub sections), and *Cūlikā* Of these five sections of *Drṣṭivāda*, the last one, i e , *Cūlikā* deals with charms and magic, including methods of walking on water, flying in air, and assuming different physical forms

It is to be noted that the remaining texts show the gradual development of the *Samgha* with various rules and regulations about *Prāyaścitta* and *Samgha* hierarchy and the relationship between the *Samgha* and the society at large

The four *Mūlasūtras* are—*Uttarājjhayana*, *Dasaveyāliya*, *Āvas-saya* and *Pindanijjuti* Most of these works were written in a later

period than the *Angas* According to Winternitz[112] *Dasaveyāliya* was written by Sejjambhava, the fourth head of the Jaina *Saṁgha* after Mahāvīra, but he believes the first one to be of much antiquity and as 'the oldest nucleus', referring 'to the ascetic poetry of ancient India' [113] Jacobi also places it later than the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* [114] The rest of the *Sūtras* seem to be of later phase of Jaina asceticism

Of the six *Cheyasuttas* (*Chedagrantha*) viz, *Daśāśrutaskandha*, *Kappa* or *Bṛhat-kalpa*, *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra-sūtra*), *Nisiha* (*Niśītha*), *Mahanisiha* (*Mahāniśītha*) and *Pañcakappa* the authorship of the first three goes to Bhadravāhu who is said to have born of a Brāhmana family at Kotikopra in Pundravardhana [115] Winternitz[116] takes at least the part of *Samācāri*, dealing with rules of rain-retreat to be the work of Bhadravāhu and thinks of the rest to be later additions He observes many similarities between *Nisiha* and *Ācārāṅga* The other works are placed in the later period

Apart from these, there are twelve *Upāṅgas*, namely, *Uvavāi* (*Aupapātika*) *Rāyapasenī* (*Rājapraśnīya*) *Jīvābhigama*, *Pannavanā* (*Prajñāpanā*) *Jambu-dīvapannati* (*Jambūdvīpa prajñāpti*), *Surapannati* (*Sūrya prajñāpti*) *Canda-pannati* (*Candra-prajñāpti*) *Nirayāvali*, *Kalpāvataṁśikā*, *Puṣpikā*, *Puṣpacūlikā* and *Vṛṣṇidaśā* These works are generally placed in the third-fourth centuries AD on the basis of astronomical ground

The ten *Prakīrnakas* scattered pieces, namely, *Catuh-śarana*, *Ātura-pratyākhyāna* *Bhakta-parijñā*, *Saṁstāraka*, *Tandula-vaitālika*, *Camdāvījjhaya*, *Devendra-stava*, *Ganividyā*, *Mahāpratyākhyāna*, and *Vīra-stava* dealing with the duties of monk are also equally placed in the later period like the *Upāṅgas* Besides these, a pair of texts, called *Nandī-sūtra* and *Anuyogadvāra* and the works of commentaries called *Nijjuti* are believed to have been written in a much later period, probably after sixth century AD It may be mentioned in this connection that the *Nandī-sūtra* and *Anuyogadvāra* are considered according to the *Sthānakavāsī* canon, among the four *Mūla-granthas* [117]

Thus, it is interesting to note that with its spread and a shift in its centre of gravity there also occurred distinct changes in the organisation of its order, and its religious texts The division of the community into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras had become finally settled, and it effected a separation not only among the monks but also in the ranks of the laity With the lapse of time

this gap became widen and it makes its reflection even in the literatures In fact, no attempt had been made for bridging the gap of differences between these two major divisions On the other hand, these major sects themselves were further subdivided into several smaller groups like the *Samghas* and the *Ganas* in south, and into *Kulas*, *Śākhās* and, later on, into *Gacchas* in the north

REFERENCES

[1]*Tirthankara* means a prophet According to the *Bṛhatsvayambhustotra* 9 of Samantabhadra— A *tīrthankara* is he by whom was shown the broad fording—place of virtue, the best of all reaching which men overcome sorrow" *Tīrtha* also means *dharma* or religious system, one who expounds *dharma* (*Tirtha dharma karoti prakaṭayati iti tirthakarah Svatirthanamadikartārah tīrthakarah* B C Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, (p 11) Another version runs thus *Tiryate anenai* cf *Tarantiyena samsarasagaramiti tīrtha pravacanam tadavyatirekadeva samghastīrtha tatkaranasīlat vātīrthakarāh* (*Bhagavatī-sutra*, I 1 30 B C Bhattacharya op cit p 11) So *Tirtham* or *dharma* by which this ocean of *Samsara* or transmigration can be crossed According to Svetāmbara view, *Tirtham* means a *Samgha* or an institution and a *tīrthankara* is the founder of such ins itution or community which is of four in number—such as, *Sādhu* (monk), *Sādhvi* (nun), *Sravaka* (lay follower), and *Śravaka* (lay-women follower)

According to Buhler (*Indian Sects of the Jainas* p 8) the Brāhmanical ideas (like the successive appearance of fourteen Manus etc) may possibly have given rise to the doctrines of the twenty-five Buddhas and twenty-four *Jinas*, which are later additions in both systems *Jina* or conqueror is the other name of the *tīrthankara* from which the religion has been named as *Jaina* The term *Jina* means one who conquers the enemies, such as, lust anger, etc (*Javati nirākaroti rāgadveṣādirūpānarātiniti Jinah* —B C Bhattacharya, op cit , p 12)

[2]There are two great *kalpas* (cycles)—*utsarpiṇī* (evolution) and *Avasarpiṇī* (involution) Each of these is divided into six periods

(a) *Sukhama sukhama* or the period of great happiness,

(b) *Sukhama* or the period of happiness,

(c) *Sukhama duhkhama* or the age of happiness and some misery,

(d) *Duhkhama sukhama* or the age of misery and some happiness,

(e) *Duhkhama* or the age of misery The present era is the fifth one which is to last twenty one thousand years About two thousand and five hundred years have already elapsed by this time

(f) *Duhkhama duhkhama* or the age of extreme misery

—Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp 272-76, H R Kapadia, *The Jaina Religion and Literature*, vol I, pp 17-20

[3]Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, ed J Campbell, pp 305ff

[4]*Bihar Through the Ages*, p 125

[5]Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, I, p 111,

[6]*IA*, IX, p 160,

[7]H Jacobi, *Studies in Jainism*, part I, pp 8-9

[8]It is the Mount Maleus of the Greeks (McCrindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 63, 139), B C Law, *HGAI* p 226

[9]Hemacandra's *Abhidhānacintamaṇi*, ch I, VV 26-28

[10]*Kalpa sutra* 147, 168, 182 & 227

[11]The seven *Kulakaras* are—Vimalavāhana, Cakṣuṣmat, Yasasvin, Abhicandra Prasenajit, Marudeva, Nabhi—H R Kapadia, op cit pp 29-30

[12]Ibid, fns 3 4

[13]*Āvaśyakaniryukti*, 191, 383, 398

[14]*Kalpa-sūtra SBE*, XXII pp 281-85

[15]*Ṛgveda*, X 102 6—The *Śatapatha Brahmana* (13 5 4 15) and the *Sāmkhya Śrauta sutra* (16 9 8 20) speak of a king named Ṛṣabha who is said to have performed *Asvamedha* sacrifices Another name of Ṛṣabha being the son of Visvamitra occurs in the *Aitareya Brahmana*, 7 17

[16]*Viṣnu* 2 1, p 163 (ed Wilson), *Kūrma*, ch 41, *Agni* ch 10, *Mārkandeya*, ch 50, *Bhagavata*, V 3 6

[17]*Avaśyakaniryukti* 336 37

[18]*Bhagavata Purana*, V 5,30

[19]Ibid, V 6 7

[20]*Rāmāyana* VII III 10

[21]*Mbh*, VI 9 7

[22]Ibid, chs 125ff, also XII-128-24

[23]Ibid, III 85 10 11

[24]*Bhagavata Purana*, V 3 6

[25]Ibid, II 7 10

[26]R G Bhandarkar *VSMS*, p 42, P Jash, *History and Evolution of Vaiṣṇavism in Eastern India*, p 98

[27]*Bhagavata Purana*, V 3 18-20, P Jash, op cit, pp 57ff

[28]K P Jain, *Jaina Antiquary* I, no 2 1935 p 19

[29]*IHQ*, VIII, Supplement, pp 18-32

[30]Chanda, *Modern Review*, 1932 (August), pp 158-60

[31]Zimmer op cit, p 60 It may be noted further that Mrs N R Guseva (*Jainism* Bombay, 1917 pp 38ff) thinks that the great antiquity of this sect is also known by studying from the anthropological perspective An ethnic group called *Thakur* lives in western Nepal, whose sect is called *Pen-po* Members of this sect believe in God, whom they call 'leading to the heaven' (towards the heaven), compare the designation, *Tīrthankara*—leading or carrying the being across the ocean or the 'joined conqueror' (compare *jcena* the conqueror) They portray this god fully naked, as the Jainas their *tīrthankaras*"

[32]*IA* IX p 163

[33]*AN*, III 373, we may note in this connection that the *Majjhima-nikāya* (*Isigilisutta*) refers to Arittha as one of the twenty-four *Pratyekabuddhas* who inhabited on the Sigiri mountain Again, in the *Dīgha nikāya* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p 60) we find the name of *Drdhanemi* as a *Cakkavatti* Elsewhere the same *Nikaya* (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, III, p 291) speaks of the king Aritthanemi who is called a Yakkha

[34]N N Vasu, *Introduction to Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa*, p 6.

[35]Samudravijaya, the father of Nemi and Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa, were sons of Andhrakā vṛṣṇi, who had eight more sons Each of these ten persons is known as *Dasarha*

[36]*Jaina Harivamśa*, 18 12, Bhāratīya Jñānapiṭha, Kashi, 1962

[37]Ibid, 55 1 14

[38]Ibid, 55 46

[39]We learn from the Jaina cononical texts that Rājamatī, the wife of Nemi, who had also renounced the world, was appointed the head of nuns Rathenemi, brother of Nemi, also attained salvation—*A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p 151

[40]*Jaina Harivamśa*, 55 86-108

[41]M Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha*, 1919

[42]To mention a few individual *caritras* we have *Parśvanātha-caritam* by Hemavijayagaṇi, *Śāntinātha mahakavyam* by Śri Munibhadrasūri, *Mallinatha caritram* by Vinayacandrasūri and also by Haribhadra, *Mahavirasvamī-caritram* by Nemicandra, and so on

[43]*Kalpasutra vṛtti* by Samayasundra pp 164-65

[44]*SBE* XXII, p 273

[45]Ibid, p 274

[46]*Uttara Sūt*, XXIII 2

[47]*AN*, II, pp 196ff

[48]*MN*, I, pp 371ff

[49]Ibid, pp 392ff

[50]Ibid, pp 237ff

[51]Ibid, pp 371ff

[52]*Samyutta nikāya*, IV 312ff

[53]Ibid I, 65ff

[54]*Jataka*, III 1, The *Bhagavatī sūtra* (5 2) mentions the following four monks, viz Kaliyaputta Mehila, Kāsava and Ānandarakkhiya, belonging to Pārśva's school

[55]*MN*, I, pp 371ff

[56]*Sūtrakṛtāṅga sūtra*, II, VII 14, *Bhagavati-sūtra*, I 9 76

[57]It is modern Tuṅgi, two miles from Bihar Sariff *Prācina Tīrthamālā*, part I, p 16

[58]*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, pp 136ff

[59]Ibid, 5 2

[60]*Uttara-sūtra*, 23-33

[61]Pāsa's postulation was not to damage anything living, not to commit anything untrue, and neither to take what has not been given nor to give away Pāsa's fourth commandment would correspond with Mahāvira's both fourth and fifth (sexual abstention and non possession) Schubring, *The Doctrine of the Jainas*, pp 30 31

[62]*IA*, IX, p 160

[63]Schubring, op cit, XXIII, *SBE*, vol 45, pp 420ff

[64]C J Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p 7

[65]*SBE* vol 45, pp 122-23

[66]*Nāyādhammakahāo*, part II, ch 10

[67]Ibid., para 148 II.1

[68]*Nirayavalikā*, an *upāṅga*, for translation of Jacobi, *SBE*, 45, pp 420ff

[69]*SBE*, XXII, pp 12-13 We have discussed in details later on, see *infra*

[70]C J Shah, op cit, p 83 fn 5

[71]Notes on Mahāvīra's life are to be found especially in the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* (*SBE* XXII 84-87, 189 202), *Kalpa-sūtra* (*SBE*, XXII 217-70) The *Ācārāṅga sūtra* affords us an elaborate information regarding Mahāvīra's life upto his forty-two years, that is, the date of his enlightenment, it does not contain any information about the activities of the last thirty years

[72]The teaching ascribed to Nigantha Nātaputta s obscure It may be said that though it is not an alien to it And hence we are sharing the view of Jacobi about the identification of Nigantha Nataputta with Vardhamāna Mahāvīra *Jaina sutra*, part II

[73]This place is still called Vasukuṇḍa *Proc of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1898 p 40

[74]She belongs to the Licchavis She was the sister of Ceṭaka who was the head of a tribal confederacy

[75]According to the *Kalpa sutra* (*SBE*, XII) Devanandā saw the following fourteen objects in her dream—an elephant, a bull a lion, an anointment, a garland, the moon the sun, a flag a vase, a lotus lake the ocean, a celestial abode, a heap of jewels and a flame

[76]*SBE* XXII, XXXI

[77]*IA*, VII, p 143

[78]*Ācārānga sutra*, p 193, *Kalpa sūtra*, W Schubring, *The Doctrines of the Jainas*, pp 32 33

[79]*Ācārānga-sutra*, p 193

[80]Ibid, p 199, *Kalpa sutra* p 259

[81]*Kalpa-sūtra*, p 259

[82]*Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, p 199, *Kālpa sutra* p 259

[83]*Kalpa sūtra*, pp 259 60

[84]Mrs Stevenson, op cit, pp 38 39 Dr Panchanan Mondal in the *Proc of the XXVI All India Oriental Conference*, Vikram University, 1972, has tried to show that some places of the districts of Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Midnapur, etc in West Bengal were visited by Mahāvīra some years prior to his attainment to *Jina* In his opinion Mahāvīra attained his salvation on the bank of the river Ṛjupālikā in the district of Burdwan

[85]Jacobi, *Studies in Jainism* part I, pp 10-11

[86]See, *infra*, ch IV, for the location and identification of these places

[87]*Sutrakṛtanga*, II 6(1)

[88]*Kalpa-sūtra*, p 268

[89]B C Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p 178

[90]The village is known as Pāvāpurī in the present days Opinions differ as to the location of this place Rāhul Sāmkṛtyāyana (*Darśana Digdarśana*, p 44, fn 3) is of the opinion that Pava is the modern Papaura village twelve miles away from Kuśīnara or Kasia situated on the little Gandak river to the east of the district of Gorakhpur B C Law, *HGAI*, p 251

[91]J Stevenson, London, 1848

[92]According to some authorities Gautama Indrabhūti never held office,

having become a *Kevali* Mrs S Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p 68

[93]*SBE*, XXII, pp 286 95

[94]H Jacobi, *History of Jainism* pp 43ff

[95]*Uvāsagadasāo*, ed N A Gore, Poona

[96]*Mae acelate dhamme pannatte* —*Ṭhānānga* (comm Abhayadeva), p 460b

[97]*Cāujjamao pañcamahavvaiyam* —*Bhagavati sutra* (commn Abhayadeva, Āgamodaya Samiti Bombay, 1921), pp 99aff

[98]*Sapaḍikkanam dhammam paḍivijjai* —*SBE*, XLV, p xxxii

[99]*Āvaśyaka-Mula* by Bhadravāhu, verses 125ff

[100]*Uvāsagadasāo* (ed Hoernle), p ix It is to be noted in this connection that tradition ascribes the compilation of Jaina canon also to a council at Mathura under Ārya Skaṇḍila in the ninth century after the *nirvāna* of Mahavira i e, c fourth century AD (Weber, *IA*, XVII, p 282) But the final reaction of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon was made in the second council of Valabhi early in the fifth or sixth century AD under Devardhigaṇin, probably during the reign of Dhruvasena (Winternitz *History of Indian Literature*, pp 434-35)

[101] Glasenapp *Der Jainismus*, pp 3‹7ff

[102]E Leuman, *Ind Studen*, XVII 1885, pp 91ff

[103]*Āvaśyaka Mulabhāṣya*, VV 145ff

[104]Those who advocated *ardhaphālakas* became gradually known as the orthodox group of Śvetāmbaras (*IA*, VII pp 37-38) Tradition avers that Bhadravāhu predicted a terrible famine of twelve years in Magadha So a group of Jaina monks headed by Bhadravahu left for South India, while others resided in Magadha After sometimes, however, the leading monks of this community met together at Ujjain where famine still persisted and so they allowed monks to use *ardhaphālaka* i e, cloth to hide shame while on tour for begging

[105]Jacobi, *Studies in Jainism*, part I, pp 45-46, *ZDMG* XXXVIII, 1884, pp 1ff

[106]*ERE*, VII, on *Digambara*

[107]*Sthavirāvai carita*, cant IX, 55, 59

[108]Rapson *Cambridge History of India*, I, p 147

[109]Ibid, p 149

[110]These two views are challenged and criticised by Guṇaratna Sūri in his *Tarkarahasya dipikā*, a commentary on *Saddarśana Samuccaya* of Haribhadra Sūri (pp 53b-54b and 79b-81a) respectively The same commentary further states that the Digambaras are divided into four *Samghas*, namely, *Kastha*, *Mūla Mathura* and *Gopya* or *Yapaniya* (*Tarkarahasya dipikā*, p 45a)

[111]*IA*, XVII, p 286

[112]Winternitz *History of Indian Literature*, II, p 433

[113]Ibid, p 466

[114]*SBE*, IV Introduction, p xxxix

[115]*Rājavalikathā*, *IA*, XXI, p 157

[116]Winternitz, op cit pp 462-64

[117]Mrs Stevenson *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 14.

CHAPTER THREE

Jaina Canonical Texts

An outline of the disciplinary code of the Jaina monk which he has to practise for the perfection of his very *mahāvrata* will also be helpful to understand the real nature and the characteristic features of the Parivrājakas belonging to the Jaina order Except a few unfit persons enlisted in the Jaina texts,[1] every individual irrespective of caste, colour and creed are entitled to be a member of this heretical order by pursuing and following those five celebrated vows[2] which Mahāvīra himself laid down as the only entrance through which man can pass to the ascetic state

Jainism considers that the true road to deliverance lies in right knowledge (*samyag-jñāna*), right faith (*samyag darśana*) and right conduct (*samyag-caritra*), i e, the famous *tri-ratna*, 'the three jewels' of Jainism It also stress much emphasis on renunciation [3] It maintains that renunciation is not physical merely, but is primarily mental Hence the preparation to lead an ultimately spiritual life beings early in life This is responsible for the two fold classification of duties—the *Śrāvaka-dharma* (the householder's duties) and the *Muni-dharma* (the duties of the ascetic) Thus the pragmatism of Jainism consists in prescribing separate rules of conduct for a layman and an ascetic

Our purpose is to indicate that the stage of *Muni* is considered to be more advanced than that of the *Śrāvaka* It is to be noted that concession is allowed to the *Śrāvaka* in the matter of observing the various virtues In the case of the *Muni*, the five virtues of *satya*, *ahimsā*, *asteya*, *brahmacarya* and *aparigraha* are insisted to be followed very strictly No laxity is permitted in the case of the *Muni* who played a vital role for the development of the faith in and outside the Jaina organisation

After completing the practice of five *anuvratas*, three *guṇa-*

vratas, four *śikṣāvratas* and eleven *pratimās*, a house-holder seeks permission from his relatives to renounce completely mundane affairs and became a Jaina monk Then after worshipping the *pañca parameṣṭhins*, viz , *arhanta*, *siddha*, *ācārya*, *upādhyāya* and *sādhu*,[4] he requests the *Ganin* to admit him into his order Being accepted by the *Ganin*, he pulls out his hair and becomes a naked ascetic, according to the Digambara traditions An illuminating definition of Jaina *śramana* is to be found in the *Pravacanasāra* of Kundakunda and the *Mūlācāra* of Vattakera which may be regarded as the practical manual for a novice Digambara-Jaina willing to embrace asceticism The statement of the *Pravacanasāra* runs thus—"He is a *śramana* who has no desires in this world and no attachment for the next whose diet and tourings are proper and who is free from passions He advises that an ideal *śramana*, if he desires for release from misery should always live with an ascetic of merits or possessing more merits "[5]

What apparently distinguishes a Jaina monk from a laity is his itinerant living with no abode as his own and his having no possessions or paraphernalia beyond those required for his religious observances In their outward form and equipment we find different schools among the Jaina monks The Digambara monk, who goes about naked, has a *Kamandalu* (a gourd pot) and a bunch of peacock feathers But if he belongs to the lower stage, he has minimum clothing to cover his shame A Śvetāmbara monk is clad in white robes, and he is equipped with a staff a bunch of wool and wooden pots They differ here and there in the rules of outward behaviour which affect their mode of begging clothing, touring eating residence etc which we discuss in the subsequent pages But the inner religious life however is fundamentally the same Even in some cases they agree on the qualifications essential for monkhood, and other essential requisites Their means differ from one another but their ultimate realisation is identical, i e , to achieve liberation

While qualifying a true sage' the *Ācārānga-sūtra*[6] mentions that "He who in the world, comprehends and renounces the causes of sin, relating to earth, water, fire, plants, animals and wind is a true sage " He who sincerely performs all duties by these methods, attains purity and gets of all miseries The exertion in righteousness consists in seventy-three processes, as preached by Mahāvīra, each helping the succeeding one, beginning with *samvega* (desire

for liberation), and ending in *akarmatā* (freedom from *karman*) It is stated in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[7] that desire for liberation (*samvega*) disregard for worldly objects (*nirvega*) self-analysis and confession of faults done, observance of vows, such as, renunciation of anger, etc., vows of renunciation of harmful and violent activities, complete control of mind, speech and body and attainment of knowledge, intuition and of conduct lead ultimately to perfection

As an ardent follower of Jaina ascetic order, his one aim is to stop the influx of fresh *karman* and to destroy all that has already bound him The flow of *karmas* into the *ātman* (soul) is caused by the activities of body, speech and mind, so it is necessary for him to keep these channels under strict control (*gupti*) It is just possible that even in performing the duties of a monk the vows might be transgressed due to negligence As a precautionary measure the monk must be contains in walking, begging speaking etc and in voiding the body (*samiti*) A monk thus should know the five *samitis*[8] and three *guptis*[9] which are helpful for the practice of religious life and for the avoidance of all sins In fact, the idea behind the prescription of the *samitis* is that unless bodily control is gained mental control cannot even be thought of It is mainly due to passions that the soul assimilates *karman*, so anger, pride, deception and greed must be counteracted by cultivating *daśadharma* or ten virtues such as *Kṣamā* (forgiveness) *Mārdava* (humility) *Ārjava* (straight-forwardness), *Nirlobhatā* (free from greed or contemplation) *Satya* (truthfulness), *Samvama* (restraint), *Tapa* (austerities), *Tyāga* (renunciation) or *Śauca* (purity and cleanliness, according to some sects) *Akiñcinatā* (absolute want of greed) and *Brahmacarya* (celibacy and chastity)

To cultivate the necessary religious attitude he should constantly reflect on some twelve religious topics (*Bhāvanā* or *Anuprekṣā*), namely,

(i) everything is transitory (*Anitya bhāvanā*),
(ii) men are helpless against disease, old age, death, etc (*Aśarana bhāvanā*),
(iii) the circuit of existence is full of misery (*Samsāra bhāvanā*),
(iv) the soul has to struggle all alone (*Ekatva bhāvanā*),
(v) the relatives and others are quite separate (*Anyatva bhāvanā*),

(vi) the body is impure (*Aśauca bhāvanā*),
(vii) the *karman* is constantly inflowing (*Āśrava bhāvanā*),
(viii) the *karman* should be stopped by cultivating necessary virtues (*Samvara bhāvanā*),
(ix) the *karman* should be annihilated by penances (*Nirjarā bhāvanā*),
(x) the nature of the universe (*Loka bhāvanā*),
(xi) the rarity of religious knowledge (*Bodhibīja* or *Bodhidurlabha bhāvanā*), and
(xii) the true nature of religion (*Dharma bhāvanā*)

The Jaina ascetic must be always awaking and unmindful of heat and cold and must liberal himself from all miseries To keep himself steady on the path of liberation and to destroy the *karman*, a monk has to bear all sorts of troubles (*parīsaha*) that might cause him distraction or pain There are twenty-two troubles which a wandering mendicant is expected to face unflinchingly at the time of tour These are—hunger (*ksudhā*) thirsty (*trsā*) cold (*śīta*), heat (*usna*) illness (*roga*), unpleasant feelings (*naisidhikī*), trying circumstances arising out of string (*damśana*), cloth (*vastra*), lodging (*arati*) women (*strī*) etc [10]

The inflow of *karman* is also arrested by observing the five rules of conduct or *caritra* [11] Monks and nuns should observe this five-fold spiritual discipline or conduct whose pitch ranges from equanimity to ideal and passionless conduct The *karman* must be annihilated through practising penances or austerities (*tapas*) The monk should not be tempted and ceased in the middle by miraculous powers etc, his ultimate goal is to attain *Nirvāna* or *Moksa*, Penance is of twofold—the external penance and the internal penance Of these two groups, the external consists of[12] (i) *Anaśana* (fasting), (ii) *Avamodarikā* (abstinence) (iii) *Bhiksācaryā* (collecting alms), (iv) *Rasatyāga* (abstention from six kinds of dainty food, such as, ghee, milk curds, sugar salt and oil), (v) *Kāyākleśa* (mortification), and (vi) *Pratisamlīnatā* (restraint of senses, passions, activities and enjoyment of bed and seats) These external penances demonstrate what a rigorous life of self-denial the Jaina monk leads He just sustains the body with minimum feeding and takes maximum work from it in the attainment of his spiritual ideal Jainism has evolved an elaborate technique of fasting and the Jaina monk trains himself all along his career so efficiently that when the hour of

death comes, he accepts voluntary fasting and gives up easily as one would throw off the old garment

Internal penance is of six kinds (i) *Prāyaścitta* (expiation of sins), (ii) *Vinaya* (modest behaviour), (iii) *Vaiyāvṛtya* (serving the *Guru*), (iv) *Svādhyāya* (study of scriptures),(v) *Dhyāna* (meditation), and (vi) *Utsarga* (giving up all attachment for the body)[13] Expiation of sin is meant for purifying one who has committed sins so that he may attain mental peace and spiritual upliftment These are of ten classes—(a) *Ālocanā* (discussion and confession of one's fault), (b) *Pratikramaṇa* (repentance and retracing from sins), (c) *Viveka* (abandoning impure food), (d) *Tapas* (austerity), (e) *Vyutsarga* (detachment from the body), (f) *Cheda* (reduction of monastic seniority), (g) *Mūla* (complete re-initiation), (h) *Anavasthāpya* (a hard expiation for a serious crime which acts as a bar to re-initiation), (i) *Pārañcika* (suspension of monkhood)

Like other system of Indian philosophy, the Jaina ascetic gives adequate emphasis on *dhyāna* or meditation It is an important spiritual exercise for the monks Through meditation or contemplation the soul progresses on to higher *gunasthānas* and destroys all the *karmas* Attachment for beneficial and aversion from harmful objects have to be given up to attain concentration of mind, which is the pre-requisite of successful meditation "The Jaina *dhyāna* consists in concentrating the mind on the syllables of the Jaina prayer phrases The *dhyāna* however is only practised as an aid to making the mind steady and perfectly equal and undisturbed towards all things Emancipation comes only as the result of the final extinction of the *Karma* materials '[14] It is of four types

(i) *Ārtadhyāna* (concentration of mind on account of anguish)
(ii) *Raudradhyāna* (concentration consequent upon anger and wrath)
(iii) *Dharmadhyāna* (meditation on religious thought)
(iv) *Śukladhyāna* (pure meditation)

However, it is *Śukladhyāna* or pure meditation which ultimately leads the soul to liberation, there is a complete cessation of physical, verbal and mental activities and the *ātman* or the self is absorbed in himself With the entire stock of *karmans* exhausted the soul shoots up to the top of the universe where the liberated souls stay for ever.

A monk should observe the following sixfold[15] essential duties as his daily routine (i) *Sāmāyika* (moral and intellectual purity of the soul), (ii) *Catur-vimśatistava* (adoration of twenty-four *Jinas*), (iii) *Vandanā* (obeisance to *Guru*), (iv) *Pratikramana* (expiation of sins), (v) *Kāyotsarga* (a particular pose of the body), (vi) *Pratyākhyāna* (self-denial) The standard of moral discipline and self control was set by Mahāvīra who preached five 'great vows' (*mahāvratas*) to regulate the lives of the ascetics, both monks and nuns We have already discussed about these five great vows of Mahāvīra, viz, *ahiṁsā* (non-violence), *sunṛta* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-stealing), *brahmacarya* (celibacy), and *aparigraha* (non-possession)

Of these five great vows *ahimsā* or non violence occupies an important position in the Jaina philosophy, and it thus deserves some explanations S N Dasgupta thus observes, "Great stress is laid upon the virtues of *ahimsā, sunṛta, asteya* and *brahmacarya*, but the root of all these is *ahimsā* The virtues of *sunṛta, asteya* and *brahmacarya* are made to follow directly as secondary corrolaries of *ahimsā* *Ahimsā* may thus be generalised as the fundamental ethical virtue of Jainism, judgement on all actions may be passed in accordance with the standard of *ahimsā*'[16] In fact, *ahimsā* is not something negative but another aspect of *dayā* (compassion), a counterpart of Buddhist *karunā* In Hemacandra's words, *ahimsā* or *dayā* is beneficent mother of all beings, the elixir for them who wander in suffering through the ocean of incarnation The positive *ahimsā* is exhibited through the form of *karunā-dāna* or *abhaya dāna*, the giving protection to all living creatures[17]

The Jaina Parivrājaka must not commit any wrong to any living being showing that non-violence is the most essential weapon of the saints' knowledge Moreover, recognition of the equality of all living beings is the main feature of a Jaina ascetic[18] There is no denying the fact that it is Jainism that has been foremost in upholding the doctrine of *ahimsā* Of course, Buddhism has also been taken it, but it is, in fact, Jainism that has struck to its ideology more than Buddhism[19] Jaina Parivrājakas have led an exemplary life, and as living embodiments of kindness to living beings they have wandered all over the country professing the doctrine of *ahimsā* It is stated in the Jaina texts that the monk should not hurt the feelings of others by his speech or behaviour[20]

The *śramana* knows fully well that nobody likes sufferings and so he takes to non violence (*ahimsā*) to all beings He treats his relatives and enemies alike [21] To avoid injury to living beings, however small they be, he regulates even his walking, and movement at night is also prohibited [22]

An analytical study on *ahimsā* as reflected in the Jaina texts represents the total involvement and intensive care taken by the Jaina Parivrājakas for the performance of this act both physically and mentally *Ahiṁsā* is generally associated with 'acts' of killing, injuring, violence, etc , so the act itself has to be avoided but at the same time, the intention must be pure In other words, coordination between the mind and body is considered necessary for the practice of non-violence This should be accompanied also by speech emanating from the heart which knows nothing but love The result is that there is absolutely no thought of injury and no speech of it either indicating that there is no instigation of somebody else to commit violence

The Jaina teacher made *himsā* (violence) into two distinct categories, as mentioned earlier--*bhāva-himsā* (violence in thought) and *dravya-himsā* (violence by physical action) The former has predominated in the discussion of *ahimsā* (non violence) by the Jaina thinkers It is to be noted that even before the definition of *ahimsā* given by Umāsvati or who in his *Tattvārthādhigama sūtra* developed Jainism into an influential epistemological and metaphysical system, Ācārya Kundakunda (Umāsvati's teacher) who flourished probably 'at the beginning of the Christian era,'[23] had ordained that whether was killed or not a negligent person certainly committed violence A vigilant person on the other hand, who acted with care did not suffer bondage by mere material injury [24] In fact, the Jaina philosophers think over this matter so deeply and intensively that they classify *himsā* or violence into 108 varieties so that the aspirant can detect even the minutest form of violence According to them violence (*himsā*) may broadly be divided into three categories—*krta* (to act), *kārita* (caused to be done) and *anum dita* (applauding) This threefold violence becomes ninefold as it can be committed either by the instrumentality of mind, speech and body The ninefold violence again becomes twenty-sevenfold for it can have three stages—*sārambha* (thinking of violent action), *samārambha* (making preparation for violence) and *ārambha* (actual committance) The twenty-sevenfold violence becomes

one hundred and eightfold as it could be inspired by either of the four *kāṣāyas* (passions), viz, *krodha* (anger), *māna* (huff), *māyā* (deceit) and *lobha* (greed) The classification thus provides a comprehensive glimpses of non-violence as reflected in the writings of the Jaina *ācāryas* [25]

The principle of *ahimsā*, as shown earlier, implies purity of thought, word and deed and is an outcome of universal love and sympathy towards all living beings, however tiny and minor they may be in the scale of evolution Eliot nicely expresses the Jaina view of non-violence in the following

"The beautiful precept of *ahimsā* or not injuring living things is not, as Europeans imagine, founded, on the fear of eating one's grandparents but rather on the humane and enlightened feeling that all life is one and that men who devour beasts are not much above the level of the beasts who devour one another "[26]

Another point that needs some clarifications is that the practice of *ahimsā* has often misunderstood and misinterpreted The doctrine of it was meant not only for the wandering mendicants or ascetics, but to the laymen it is prescribed according to his position and stage of religious progress This has allowed Jaina kings and laity to fight on the battlefield for their empire and for their safety as well as honour It may be remembered in this connection that the practical application of the principle by Mahātmā Gandhi is only an extension of the traditional value of *ahimsā* Gandhi himself has stated that he derived much benefit from the Jaina religious works as from the scriptures of other great faiths of the world [27] To follow the path of *ahimsā* is a very tough and rigorous job Unless one believes it heart and soul, it will not possible to realise its subtle nature of diverse dimensions As mentioned earlier '*ahimsā* according to a householder, according to *anuvrata*, would require abstinence from killing any animals but according to *mahāvrata* it would entail all the rigour and carefulness to prevent oneself from being the cause of any kind of injury to any living being in any way "[28]

Without entering further micro studies on the concept and application of *ahimsā* to the lives of the Parivrājakas it is an imperative task before us immediately to know the ordains of the Jaina *ācāryas* relating to other essential duties of the Jaina monks, like touring, habitation, food, lodging, etc

Touring

One of the most important characteristics of the Parivrājakas is to wander from place to place They wandered alone, or banded themselves into communities under a spiritual leader—Satthā,Gaṇā-cariyo, etc [29] A monk can stay for a night in a village and five nights in a town,[30] but in the later period the monks were allowed to spend a month in summer and winter in a village or a town [31] While walking the monk should follow some principles

(i) He must have the permission of his *guru* before undertaking any tour

(ii) He should keep silent except during the period of preaching

(iii) He should walk with all requisites as permissible by the rules

(iv) He must not allow any heretic or householder to follow him

(v) He must avoid the places, unfrienldy or full of anarchy, and the ways, full of living beings, seeds, grass, water or mud

(vi) He should try to avoid the road through a forest, not crossable even in five days

(vii) He should look forward for four cubits and seeing animals, should move by walking on his toes or heels or the sides of his feet

It is also interesting to note in this connection that the monks wers also asked to confine to the geographical limitations mentioned in the texts The *Brhat-kalpa*[32] warns that monks and nuns should not wander beyond Aṅga-Magadha (Bihar) in the east, Kauśāmbi (U P) in the south, Sthūnā district in the west and Kunāla in the north Another interesting account is that the five rivers, namely, the Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarayū, Irāvatī and Māhī, should not be crossed twice or thrice in a month by a monk, except under special circumstances, like any trouble from the king or famine, inundation or other dangerous situation [33] The Jaina monks or Parivrajakas, were wandering in these regions centring round Bihar, portions of U P , parts of Punjab and Haryana states Even a *Muni* is not permitted, after wandering about four or five leagues, to stay at the place at which he has arrived, but

must return before night If unable to do so he must return a certain part of the way and lodge there [34]

According to Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, "The object of this custom may have been to avoid levying too great a tax on the hospitality of the people, and also to prevent the ascetic forming close or undesirable friendships which might tempt him to break either his vow of non-possession of goods or of chastity The rule was, however, relaxed during the rainy season, when Mahāvīra, like his subsequent followers, made a practice of remaining for four months at the same place "[35]

Regarding touring, habitation, begging, etc, the *Kalpa-sūtra* contains a chapter on the '*Rules for Yatis* "This Institution was ordained by the adorable ascetic Mahāvīra at Rājagṛha, in the sacred garden (*Chaitya*) of Guṇasila, while surrounded by multitudes of male and female ascetics and lay disciples, as well as gods and goddesses "[36]

Habitation

The Jaina Parivrājakas appear to have been predominantly eremitical They have to follow certain norms regarding habitation and other day to day activities A mendicant is expected not to stay in halting places, garden houses, family houses and monasteries where many fellow ascetics are frequently arriving [37] The *Ācāranga sūtra* mentions that "A mendicant may exert himself or stand or sit or lie in a burying place, or in an empty house or in a mountain cave or in a potter's workshop ' [38] All these places are congenial for performing meditation Mahāvīra also prescribed that the monks should reside in a sylvan and solitary place He "having given up the town and country of Mithila, his army, retired from the world and resorted to a lonely place "[39] A true monk, according to the *Uttarājjhāyana Sutta*,[40] should live in company with other monks, upright and free from desire, he should abandon his former connections and not longing for pleasures, he should wander about as an unknown beggar The monk should not use a lodging place where house-holder is living or a place containing the eggs of living beings Even the monks are asked to avoid the places visited by women, beasts and eunuchs They should not live in a place which is already be set with "many Śramanas and Brāhmaṇas, guests, paupers and beggars " The Parivrājakas or the monks, on the other hand, were always advised

to live with distinguished and learned (*gītārtha*) elders instead fo remaining alone[41] Thus, in the Jaina texts of the later period emphasis laid on the life of monks in monasteries (*upāśraya*) in which they must not allow any outsider (*Uvāsaga*) to spend even for a night Monks have to undergo severe punishment, if they spent three nights outside *vihāra* without proper permission[42]

Vassāvāsa or Rain-retreat

An exhaustive account regarding the *Vassāvāsa* of Mahāvīra is found in the *Kalpa-sūtra* The text also mentions the places where the great teacher spent the rainy seasons since he had renounced the life of a house holder

Eremitical tendencies in course of time gave way to the coenobitic among the Jainas The institution of the *Vassāvāsa* appears to have been a contributory factor in this development To the Jaina Parivrājakas, like that of the Buddhist as well as Brāhmaṇical, rain-retreat is compulsory, for it helps the ascetics to abstain from injury to living beings, even to vegetation lives which grow luxuriantly in this season "When the rainy season has come and it is raining, many living beings are originated and many seeds just spring up the roads contain many living beings, seeds etc and should not wander from village to village but remain during the rainy season in one place "[43] The *Mūlācāra*[44] also mentions that a monk should stop touring in the rainy season and abstain from causing injury to vegetable beings which grow profusely during this time It was so popular and common among the Jainas that the people criticised the Buddhist monks who did not adhere it at the beginning ' How can these recluses, Śākyaputtiyas walk on tour during the cold weather or hot weather and rain trampling down the crops and grasses, injuring life that is one facultied and bringing many small creatures to destruction? Shall it be that these members of other's sects, whose rules are badly kept, cling to and prepare a rains residence, shall it be that birds having made their nests in the tree-tops, cling to a proper rains residence, which these recluses trample on walking "[45] Of course Buddha later on prescribed the rules pertaining to the observance of indoor residence in the rainy season

The *Vassāvāsa* in Jainism,[46] like Buddhism,[47] commences on the full moonday of *Āsāḍha* and ends on the full moonday of *Kārttika* The monks are, of course, permitted to go to another place in

the rainy season under certain circumstances [48]

(i) to know a religious text, known only to an *ācārya* who is on fasting to death (*nānā-aṭṭayāe*)
(ii) to spread the faith (*dam sanaṭṭhayāe*),
(iii) to save one from going astray to a bad place (*carittaṭṭhayāe*),
(iv) to attend the *ācārya* or the *upādhyāya* who remains in a dry-place (*āyariya Uvajjhāyāna vā bahitā veāvaccam Karanetāte*), and
(v) if the *ācārya* or *upādhyāya* is dead (*āyariya-Uvajjhāyā vā se Visumbhejjā*)

The institution of rain-retreat (*Vassāvāsa*) seems to have originated in physical necessity, but later on it appears to have come to acquire ceremonial significance in the Jaina, Buddha as well as in the Brāhmanical societies

As regards food the Jaina Parivrājakas always gave emphasis on the non-injury to life The monk was to avoid "living beings, mildew seeds, sprouts, flowers, eggs, layers and moisture"[49] Similarly, he was not to accept as alms 'flattened grains, grains containing much chaff or half roasted spikes of wheat etc, or flour of wheat etc, or rice or flour of rice recognised as only once worked"[50] The Jaina texts, judging from the stand point of asceticism, refer to two kinds of food—*nirdosa* (pure) and *sadoṣa* (impure) Impurity stands because of the following cause [51]

(a) *Udgama* (preparation of food)
(b) *Uppādana* (how food is secured)
(c) *Eṣanā* (how it is accepted)
(d) *Paribhoga* (how it is enjoyed)

A Jaina monk is supposed to fill half of his belly with food, one-fourth with water, and one-fourth with wind The maximum quantity of food to be taken ordinarily is thirty-two morsels (*kavala*) [52] The terms *ekālpiko, dvālopiko, sattālopiko* used in connection with the consumption of food by the monks distinctly demonstrate the restrictions on the quantity of food taken by the monks The *Cheda-sūtras*[53] mention the rules about the quantity of food and the mode of eating A long list of circumstances under

which food could not be taken is given in the *Mūlācāra* If a crow touches the food or if some one vomits or if the monk happens to see blood or flesh or somebody crying or if living beings like flies fall into his food, no food should be received under such circumstances Again monks should not take food before sunrise and after sun-set [54] Food must be procured in broad daylight and never in twilight or night [55] It must not be preserved even for the next half of the day and stale food was forbidden for the use of the monks [56] Food from donor of loose morals was also rejected [57] There is, however, reason to suppose that even meat eating was not categorically forbidden As a matter of fact, the monks could accept meat in alms under certain circumstances [58] But this fact goes against the spirit of Jainism which practises *ahimsā*, hence the terms, like '*māmsena*', *poggalam*', '*animisam*' etc mentioned in the *Ācāranga-sūtra*, have been taken by some commentators in the sense of vegetarian diets

What is received from the alms is to be distributed among the fellow monks with proper permission from the teachers It is thus stated that "A single mendicant, having collected alms for many, might, without consulting his fellow ascetics, give them to those whom he list, as this would be sinful, he should not do so Taking the food, he should go there (where his teacher etc are) and speak thus 'O long lived *śramana*' there are near or remote (spiritual) relations of mine a teacher, a sub teacher, a religious guide, a *sthāvira*, a head of a *gana*, a *ganadhara*, a founder of a *gana*, forsooth, I shall give it them' The other may answer him "Well now, indeed, O long lived one, give such a portion' As much as the other commands thus much he should give, if the other commands the whole, he should give the whole "'[59] It shows that fellow feeling or feeling for the community as a whole was widely prevalent among the monks of the Jaina order Everything was managed democratically by the monks and there was no such thing as individual property within the order

Another interesting point that should be mentioned in this connection is that the Jaina institution regulated the life of the monks and nuns not only within its order alone but their relations with the public as well as with the king also The Jaina teachers were very careful about the political influences over this Jaina order Monks and nuns, therefore, should avoid all political controversies, even they were not allowed to make friendship with the

kings or persons in authority[60] They should not make any intimacy with any householder, although they had to depend on society for maintaining livelihood

The question of clothes was a controversial one amongst the Jainas The Digambaras believe that Mahāvīra abandoned clothes at the time of his initiation, while the Śvetāmbaras hold that he abandoned them after thirteen months Anyway, Mahāvīra was in favour of nakedness He felt that an ascetic must have completely conquered all his emotions, shame amongst others A true monk would not feel either heat or cold, and so would not need the protection from the weather offered by cloths, and he would be so indifferent to mere appearances as to be unconscious as to whether he wore raiment or not In this connection we may mention the following observation "Jaina monks are naked because Jainism says that as long as one entertains the same idea of nakedness as we do, he cannot obtain salvation One cannot, according to Jain principles, obtain *mokṣa*, as long as he remembers that he is naked He can only cross over the ocean of the world after he has forgotten that he is naked As long as a man thinks and knows that he is naked, that there is something like good and evil, he cannot obtain *mokṣa* He must forget it to obtain *nirvāna* "[61]

Regarding clothes and other essential requirements of the Parivrājakas of the Jaina order, we have Jaina manuals mentioning rules and regulations in this context We learn from the *Ācāranga-sūtra*[62] that Mahāvīra used his robe for a year and a month' and then he became 'a naked, world-relinquishing and houseless sage' Though Mahāvīra himself followed the more rigorous practice of going completely naked, yet he permitted the Nigaṇṭhas to put on a single robe which justifies the reference to them as '*Ekasāṭak*" by Gośāla[63] But they were also described as '*a-cela*', i e , complete nakedness[64] The explanation of this discrepancy must be an actual discrepancy of practice in connection with clothing among the early Nigaṇṭhas The more ardent followers of Mahāvira the *Jina-kalpikas* and those Ājīvikas who continued to remain within the Nirgrantha fold[65] seem to have probably followed the principle of entirely nakedness, while the other probably adhered to the less rigid but older practice C J Shah observes, "Taking it historically and literally, we can say that the Śvetāmbaras are more akin to Pārśvanātha than to Mahāvīra, and Digambaras are nearer the latter, because Mahāvīra passed many years of his life as a pro-

phet in a naked stage, while both Pārśva and his followers preferred to remain dressed."[66] Eliot also holds the same view But it is not convincing and justified to connect the Śvetāmbaras with Pārśva and the Digambaras with Mahāvīra only on the basis of nudity alone, "since it is proved independently that everyone of the *tīrthankaras*, lived as a naked *śramana*."[67]

The Jaina texts provide us with enough evidence of the Jaina monks used little clothing "To a mendicant who is little clothed and firm in control, it will not occur My clothes are torn, I shall beg for new clothes" Elsewhere we have "a mendicant should wear the clothes in the same state in which they are given him After winter is gone and the hot season has come, one should leave off the used up (garment of the three), being clad with an upper and under garment or with no clothes, aspiring for freedom from bonds."[68] It evidently shows that the rules about dress varied among the Jaina monks according to season The *Ācārangasūtra*, thus, allows a monk to have in winter from one to three robes, which, however, must be worn unchanged, unwashed etc With the advent of summer new robes may be begged, but less may be put on so that even nakedness is permissible[69] A nun is, however, allowed to use four raiments[70] As to the kinds of cloth, permissible are "cloth made of wool, silk, hemp, palm-leaves, cotton or *Arkatūla* or such like clothes"[71] But they 'should not accept clothes which the layman for the mendicant's sake has bought, washed, dyed, brushed, rubbed, cleaned as perfumed" and also "very expensive clothes'[72] Monks received clothes from their elders according to their status (*ahārāimyāe*) and this system of distribution of clothes reminds us of the same practice prevailing in the Buddhist *Vihāra*[73] Another point which comes out from the above observation is that nudity was not rigidly practised in the early Jains institution All that was emphasised on was non-attachment to any worldly objects, like clothing and other things, which was believed to the fundamental factor leading to liberation from bonds

It will not be out of place to mention here that both the schools—the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara, did not encourage nudity for nuns We have earlier referred to that Śivabhūti, the founder of a sub sect called Boḍiya at Rathavīrapura, started nudity among themselves but he did not allow his sister Uttarā to accept it.

According to the *Pravacanasāra*, a Digambara Jaina text by

Kundakunda, "Women are forbidden from accepting severe types of asceticism, such as, nakedness because they are constitutionally unfit there is a growth of subtle living beings in their organ of generation, between their breasts, in their navel and armpits, their mind is fickle and devoid of purity, they have monthly courses and they cannot concentrate undisturbed"[74] The Jaina teacher of this sub-sect thus, prescribes for nuns some ascetic emblems which were more moderate and less rigorous than that prescribed for monks[75] Women were allowed to be a member of the order but they could not get liberation in that birth[76]

The begging bowl was another article about which ascetic practice varied, even in case of the Jaina monks we meet several types of bowls for different monks and nuns Bowls of bottle-gourd, or wood, or clay were permitted[77] A young, strong and healthy monk might take only one bowl According to the commentary this rule applied to the *Jinakalpikas* etc while ordinary monks could have a drinking vessel besides the alms bowl[78] The Jaina texts[79] mention the following fourteen *requisites*, essential and occasional the number of which was determined by the rank of the monks In other words, the first twelve are meant for the *Jinakalpikas* while the entire requisites are allotted to the *Sthāvira-kalpikas* (1) *Paṭṭa* (bowl) (2) *Pattābandha* (thread), (3) *Pāya-ṭṭhavana* (base), (4) *Pāya-kesariyā* (dust-cleaner), (5) *Padalāim* (Pat-covers), (6) *Ravattānam* (dust wiper) (7) *Gucchāo* (dust brush), (8) *Paccāgā* (three cloths), (9) *Rayahiranam* (broom), (10) *Muha-patti* (mouthpiece), (11) *Mattaga* (earthen pot) and (1) *Colapaṭṭa* (the loin-cloth) The Jaina manual prescribes "clothes, alms-bowls, blankets, brooms, property meaning *avagraha* property, e g, the ground which the house-holder allows the mendicant who stays in his house and straw-mats[80] as the necessaries of a monk

The Sixfold Monastic Orders

In terms of spiritual evolution, the Jaina ascetics attained diffe rent stages before they finally attain *mokṣa* These are the stages of the *ācārya, upādhyāya, sādhu, tīrthankara* or *arhanta* and the *siddha* These five grades together with the primary stage of the *Muni*, are known as the sixfold monastic order of Jainism The Jaina scriptures viz, the *Thānānga* the *Vyavahāra, Āvaśyaka-niryukti* etc, afford us valuable information about the nature and activities of the Jaina hierarchy An attempt has been

made in the following to explain the five stages that 'more developed' than the stage of the *Muni* who is deemed to be an ordinary ascetic, of course, more advanced than that of the *Śrāvaka* (householder)

Ācārya

The *ācārya* is the teacher (*guru*) in the spiritual sense of the term He is described as the head of a *Gaṇa*, vastly learned, well-disciplined and master of fivefold *ācāra*, *jñāna* *darśana*, *caritra*, *tapa* and *vīrya* Hence he is respected by all [81] He enjoys the privilege of initiating pupil known as *seha*, *antevāsī*, *sāmanera* into the spiritual path We are told that there were four classes of *ācārya* One initiating a pupil, one confirming him, one doing neither of these two, and another doing both of them [82] It is to be noted here that Jainism accepts the Brāhmanical view that an *ācārya* is essential for initiation The *Vyavahāra* refers to four more *ācārya* who were responsible to guide monks and nuns in daily duties [83] The duty of the *ācārya*, accordingly is to guide moral and spiritual conduct of his pupils The *ācāryas* are also expected to possess a thorough knowledge of the Jaina scriptures as also a knowledge of the various other religions It is also stated that they should have at least eight years experience of monkhood [84]

Upādhyāya

He is empowered to delivering lectures to a group of monks[85] on various spiritual matters Naturally he is expected to have a sound knowledge of the various scriptures on which he discourses He is expected to have at least three years' experience as a monk and with good knowledge of the rules of the monastic conduct [86] He was so-called because he was approached by the monks for instruction in sacred texts [87] The *Āvaśyaka-nirukti*[88] further explains the *upādhyāya* (*ujjha*) as one who took to meditation with full consciousness and the term *Uvajjhāya* as one who destroyed *karman* by conscious meditation "All teaching and studying is a kind of austerity, if a man studies intentionally to gain merit, he will get merit (*punya*), if, however, he studies and teaches to gain and impart knowledge with no thought of acquiring merit, he will destroy certain *karma* (*nirjarā*) "[89]

Sādhu

According to Mrs Stevenson, 'he is just an ordinary ascetic or *sādhu*, if he be a Digambara, he will wear no clothes and live in the forest, lost to the world and immersed in meditation, eating only once a day and tearing out his hair as it grows If he be a Śvetāmbara or a Sthānakavāsī, he will move from Apasaro to Apasaro clad in white clothes"[90] He is an ascetic who observes scrupulously the various codes of conduct prescribed for attaining spirituality in life He will have to practise the various virtues, mentioned in the Jaina canons, in his own individual life showing that before he becomes eligible to deal with spiritual matters, he should himself have undergone the prescribed course of ethical life which offers a real insight into the nature of spiritual life

Tirthankara or Arhanta

This is undoubtedly an advance stage of spiritual life In this stage traces of anger, pride, deceit, greed, attachment hatred and ignorance are not perceivable in the monk 'The Being" as observes Mrs Stevenson "has attained perfection of knowledge, perfection of speech, perfection of worship, and absolute security, for no danger or disease can ever come where he is"[91] The mere sight of an *arhanta* is considered to have the potentiality to convert hundreds of people to the path of spirituality and to destroy sceptical and perverse attitude towards life The presence of the *arhanta*, thus is always enlightening

Of the seven categories of *arhats*, viz, the *Pañcakalyānadhārī*, *Tinakalyānadhārī*, *Dokalyānadhārī*, *Sāmānyakevalī*, *Sātiśayakevalī*, *Upasargakevali* and *Antakrtkevalī*, the first three are the *tīrthankara* type, while the remaining, the non-*tīrthankara* type In regard to the spiritual experience there is no difference at all The distinction lies on the fact that the former is capable of preaching and professing religious doctrines in order to guide the mundane souls immersed in the life of illusion, (his sermons are properly worded by the *ganadharas*) while the latter is not permitted to preach religious faith or principles, but enjoys the sublimity of mystical experience[92]

"A meaning often given to the word *tīrthankara* is that of one who finds a ford (*tīrtha*) through this world (*Samsāra*) to *moksa*, or one who attains a landing on the other side But many Jainas say it denotes one who forms four communities (*tīrtha*) of monks

and nuns, and male and female lay-followers When a new *tīrthaṅkara* arises, the followers of the preceding one follow him, as the followers of Pārśvanātha followed Mahāvīra "[93] We have earlier mentioned that the number of *tīrthankaras* for every age is believed to be only twenty-four It is to be noted that a spiritual aspirant of the non-*tīrthankara* group can attain the next higher stage of the *siddha* by dint of his spiritual attainments which can be had only through pure meditation or contemplation [94] He is an ideal saint, a *paramātman* or god whom the Jainas assign an enormous list of attributes [95]

Siddha

This is the last stage or the final goal of a Jaina ascetic In this stage the ascetic is free from *karman* altogether, he is completely independent of all external objects "The *siddha* has the following characteristics absolute knowledge, faith, insight, righteousness, and prowess He also has the power of becoming minute and gigantic at will, and of moving anywhere unhindered, he is unaffected by anything, so that neither death, disease, rebirth, nor sorrow can any longer touch him He is also without a body, and this is the reason why Jaina feel they can never pray to a *siddha* " He is described as not being the product of anything nor producing anything [96] ' Neither *arhat* nor *siddha* has on him the responsibility of creating supporting or destroying the world The aspirant receives no boons, no favours and no curses from him by way of gifts from the divinity The aspiring souls pray to him, worship him and meditate on him as an example, as a model, as an ideal that they too might reach the same condition "[97]

The acquisition of Siddhahood is synonymous with attaining *Nirvāna*[98] where there is no question of his experiencing either pleasure or pain, or any types of *karman* His is a state of infinite, pure and boundless bliss [99] It is nicely described in the Jaina text—"All sounds recoil thence where speculation has no room, nor does the mind penetrate there The liberated is without body, without resurrection, without contact of matter, he is not feminine, nor masculine, nor neuter, he perceives, he knows, but there is no analogy, its essence is without form, there is no condition of the unconditioned "[100]

Thus, the description of the sixfold monastic order of the Jaina ascetic demonstrates the different stages of perfection of the

ascetic

A word may not be irrelevant in this connection about the position of Jainism in the evolution of Indian religio-philosophical thought The fundamental tenets of Jainism can well be epitomised in two distinct nomenclatures viz, *ahimsā* and *anekāntavāda*, the two important principles, philosophically and socially, through which the followers of the faith express their respect for life (*ahimsā*) and the doctrine of open-mindedness (*an kānta*)

An exhaustive study has been made earlier, hence a brief note on *anekānta* is required In fact, *an kāntavāda* or *syādvāda*—the non-absolutism, is an original contribution of the Jainas to the realm of Indian religion and philosophy It means that no object is absolutely identical, similarly the differences are not absolutely scattered According to the Jaina thinkers the identity or permanence exists in the midst of all the varying modes or differences According to them reality is a synthesis of opposites—identity and difference, permanence and transformation The philosophy of *anekānta*, needless to say, represents a scientific and sensible approach of things in a systematised form The description of a thing is apparently contradictory, but perfectly true and complete knowledge Its humility is seen reflected in its analysis and in the logic of the seven modes, the *sapta-bhangi-naya* as it is known to the Jaina philosophers *syādasti* (it is), *syānnāsti* (it is not), *syādasti-nāsti* (it is and is not), *syādavaktavyam* (it is indescribable), *syādasti ca avaktavyam ca* (it is and is indescribable) *syānnāsti ca avaktavyam ca* (it is not and is indescribable), *syādasti nāsti ca avaktvyam ca* (it is, is not, and is indescribable)

Thus, in the logic of *sapta-bhangi naya*, certain common points have been discovered between Jainism, Sāmkhya Vedānta and Buddhism Similarly, common differences are also to be found with the Vedic religion Thus *syādasti* has a reference to the *satkāryavāda* of the Sāmkhya while *syāt-nāsti* has a reference to the *śūnyavāda* of the Buddhas Similarly, *syāt-asti ca nāsti ca* has a reference to the Vaiśeṣikas and *syāt-avaktavyah* has a reference to the Vedānta view Anyway, if the Jaina philosophy has some similarities with the other Indian philosophical systems, it has its own peculiarities as well M Hiriyana thus observes—"Though independent of Buddhism, Jainism resembles it in several respects, e g in its repudiation of the authority of the Veda, its pessimistic outlook on life and its refusal to believe in a supreme

(cognizance) usually placed below the image

One of the earliest Jaina figures hailing from Surohar in the district of Dinajpur, now preserved in the Varendra Research Society Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh, represents Ṛṣabhanātha,[63] the first of the twenty-four *tīrthankaras* of the Jainas Seated cross-legged at the centre of the stela on a *simhāsana* with hands resting on the soles of the feet he is characterised by his *lāñchana*, the bull, placed at the lower compartment of the pedestal Completely nude, he wears the *urnā*, *uṣnīsa*, and the wheel marks, which are the well known *Mahāpuruṣa laksanas*, on his palm and soles of the feet He is flanked by two male figures with fly-whisks on either side and *gandharva* pairs on either side of the round *prabhāmanḍala* which rests under the canopy of a *chatra* The importance of this image is enhanced by the fact that it represents the figures of twenty-three other *tīrthankaras*, seated in *dhyāna* pose within niches of miniature temples arranged in relief on the two sides and top of the main figure Each *tīrthankara* is marked by his distinctive *lāñchana* shown on the pedestals [64] Another Rsabhanātha image is found from Barabhum in the Midnapur district, and is now preserved in the Indian Museum In this sculpture the miniature figures of the twenty-four *Jinas* are arranged in four rows of three each on either side of the main image, all standing in *kāyotsarga* pose [65]

A similar type of mutilated Jaina image which may be assigned to a date not later than the eleventh century AD has been found in a ruined sand stone temple standing at present for the worship of Śiva The *linga* within the temple is of new installation Originally it was a Jaina temple, dedicated to Rsabhanātha, whose image (ht 3′2″, br 1′6″) now lies by the side of the *linga* Debala Mitra describes it as such

"The central figure, remarkable for its beautiful facial expression and *jaṭā mukuṭa*, stands against a throne in the usual *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus, below which is his characteristic *lāñchana*, bull, between two devotees On either side of his legs is a standing attendant, wearing ornaments and loin-cloth Over his head is a canopy of succession of gradually diminishing *chatras*, flanked by a flying couple holding garlands Over the *chatra* are two pairs of hands playing on musical instruments The back slab is relieved with miniature figures of twenty-four *tīrthankaras*, arranged in twelve rows of two each Like the main

image, they also stand in *kāyotsarga* pose, with their respective cognizances carved below each "[66] A few more mutilated Jaina images are also found in this village showing that the village was once a thriving Jaina centre [67]

A headless image of Ṛṣabhanātha in *kāyotsarga* pose hails from Mondoil, Rajshahi district, Bangladesh and is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University The *Jina* image stands on a lotus placed upon a *pañcaratha* pedestal, on which is shown the bull, his *lāñchana* and a number of devotees There are two fly-whisks bearing figures on two sides of the main figure and the nine *grahas* with Gaṇeśa are shown in low relief on either side of the stela Behind the lost head is the decorated *prabhā-mandala* upon which is a *chatra* and on both sides of these there are flying *gandharvas* and celestial hands carrying garlands and other offerings The extreme elegance of the figure of the *Jina* and the sensitiveness of its fingers cannot escape admiration [68]

A standing *Jina* image of Śāntinātha in usual pose between two *caurī*-bearing attendants is discovered from Ujāni in the Burdwan district and is now under the possession of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Museum, Calcutta [69] On the back-slab are carved the nine *grahas*, five on one side and four on the other, and the *lāñchana* (an antelope) is shown on the pedestal This sculpture can be roughly assigned to the twelfth century AD Another image of Śāntinātha (ht 1 11) in *kāyotsarga* pose on a double-petalled lotus with an attendant on either side of his legs is now lying over the scanty remains of the village Chitgiri in the Bankura district [70] The back slab is relieved with four more *tīrthankaras*, in the same pose, and two flying figures at top corners The cognizance below the pedestal seems to be a deer, and the image may, therefore, be of the sixteenth *tīrthankara*, Śāntinātha Situated in an interior village of Jhargram sub-division of Midnapur district at Rajpura two Jaina *tīrthankaras* were noticed which were being worshipped as the 'Buddha' and 'Ananta' The representation of the *tīrthankara* Śāntinātha with his usual *lāñchana*, an antelope, and flanked by the *caurī*-bearers and *aṣṭa-graha-devatās* reveals a specimen which can be attributed to *c* tenth century AD on stylistic ground It is now preserved in the State Archaeological Gallery, Calcutta, West Bengal Another image of the Jaina *tīrthankara* Pārśvanātha standing in *kāyotsarga* pose having a canopy of a seven-hooded serpent over his head, is still lying at the site [71]

The village Paresnath on the north bank of the river Kumārī in the district of Bankura, West Bengal, is named after the shrine of the twenty third *tīrthankara*, Pārsvanātha "The temple made of red sand stone, is now reduced to a mere plinth On the plinth lies the image of Pārśvanātha, now in three fragments The image (ht 6'8½") stands in *kāyotsarga* pose on a *viśva-padma* under a seven-hooded canopy of a serpent, the latter's coil carved on the back-slab On other side of his legs is an attendant standing on a lotus with a kneeling devotee in front On the back-slab are miniature figures, two in each row, of twenty-four *tīrthankaras*, also standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on lotuses placed on pedestals and relieved with their respective cognizances On the two bottom corner-facets are a *nāga* and *nāgī* by the side of a lion Over the serpent-hood is his *kevala* tree with a flying figure holding a garland at the corners."[72] Another image of Pārsvanātha, standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on a lotus, has been found from the village of Kenduā, on the bank of the river Kamsāvati, in the district of Bankura "The upper portion of the image, along with the head, is missing On each side of the feet is a three hooded *nāgī*, the left one holding a *ghoṭa*, beyond them is a standing attendant holding a *caurī* On either side of the stela are depicted *tīrthankaras*, three in each row"[73] That the Jaina *tīrthankara* Pārsvanātha was greatly venerated by the followers of Jainism specially of this district is corroborated from the prevalence of stone images of this deity enshrined in the temples at Bahulara and Dharapat situated near Viṣnupur, and which are being worshipped in the name of Manasā, the snake goddess The seven hooded serpent canopy manifesting over the head of the *tīrthankara* has been wrongly taken by the local inhabitants as that of the *nāgachatra* of Manasā[74]

A large number of Jaina images and Jaina shrines have been found in the district of Purulia bordering on the state of Bihar The village Chatra was a centre of religious activities for the Jainas and is well attested from the numerous findings of Jaina sculptures and architectural pieces including a *Caumukhas* It is to be noted in this connection that the worship of *Caumukhas* or *Caturmukhas* are prevalent and popular among the Jainas of this part of India It seems probable that the representation of four different *Jinas* on the four sides is an advancement or development of the original and earlier conception of the Jaina tradition of *Samavasarana*, square or circular assemblies erected by gods for the

sermon of the *Jina*, wherein, on a raised platform in the centre, sits the *Jina* on one side with the images of the same *Jina* installed on the three remaining sides to make him visible to the entire audience The figures of the four *tīrthankaras* are usually represented as the first one, i e, Ṛsabhadeva, the sixteenth—Śāntināthа, the twenty-third—Pārśvanātha and the twenty-fourth—Mahāvīra, in four directions A miniature Jaina shrine (*c* eleventh century AD) with the representations of four *tīrthankaras* in *kāyotsarga* pose on the four sides still lies at the site at Badkola in the Bankura district Another miniature Jaina shrine carved in sand stone is also on view in the Chatra village of Purulia district, West Bengal The date of the shrine is tentatively assigned to the eleventh century AD The four sides representing the images of four *tīrthankaras* are not as usual, but six at a time in *kāyotsarga* pose along with their respective cognizances (*lāñchanas*) Similar such shrines have been discovered from other places also The State Archaeological Gallery of West Bengal possesses several other examples of *Caumukha* images and shrines

In fact, the sculptural representations scattered all over the district of Purulia tend us to believe its strong association with Jainism According to Bose Jainism was in a flourishing condition in Telkupi, Boram, Chatra, Lauhara, Punca and other villages of this district But among all these remains pertaining to the Jaina religion, as noticed in the Purulia district, the ruins and relics still lying at Pakbira (Punca, P S), deserve attention on account of its beautiful sculptural materials [75] Besides the Jaina temples (now standing in a very dilapidated condition), the colossal figure of a Jaina *tīrthankara* (ht 7½) carved in round on chlorite locally being worshipped as Bhiram, draws the attention of the scholars The sixth Jaina *tīrthankara* Padmaprabha has been represented in this sculpture He is standing in *kāyotsarga* pose on a low pedestal on which a lotus symbol (*lāñchana*) is carved and is flanked by *caurī* bearers on his two sides The towering figure standing straight by dedicating himself for the cause of humanity and keeping its head high above the surrounding ruins symbolizes the spirit of spiritual exaltation amidst trials and tribulations in worldly life Among the other sculptural representations of this site and its adjoining villages, some mutilated but beautiful images are lying Of them an icon representing Pārśvanātha recognised by his *lāñchana* snake, flanked by two beautiful *caurī*-bearers emerg-

ing from the mouth of snake is worth-noting [76] K D Dutta in the Varendra Research Society Monographs mentions different Jaina images found in the Sundarban area of 24 Parganas The discovery of numerous Jaina stone and bronze images from the dense jungles of Sundarban (Khari and Chatrabag regions), from Nalgora and Kantabenia, conclusively prove that Jainism confined to be a potent force in the once flourishing *Janapadas* of the Sundarbans, now wild and forlorn Of these images, the Pārśvanātha image found in Raidighi is worthy of mention Standing in *kāyotsarga* pose, this image, which is in a nice state of preservation, has got twenty-three other *tīrthankaras* shown on the stela seated in *dhyāna* pose

Two more images of Pārśvanātha, one hailing from Deulbhira Bankura, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the other from Kantabenia in the 24 Parganas district are also worth-mentioning in this connection In the first one "the deity is shown seated in the usual yoga posture, with the seven hoods of a snake spread over his head and his characteristic *lāñchana* beneath the lotus seat, the *caurī*-bearing figures on either side are present, but no other *Jinas* are represented by his side "[77] The latter one, dated eleventh century AD, is standing in the *kāyotsarga* pose with his usual *lāñchana* and attendants The miniature figures of twenty-three other *Jinas* are also represented in rows of two each, eleven on its right and twelve on its left [78]

A colossal Jaina image is to be found in the village Babladihi or Sankarpur under Mangalkot police station of Burdwan district Though this image is called by the local people as Nyāṅteśvara Śiva-thākura, it was originally an image of the Jaina *tīrthankara*, probably of Mahāvīra

The existence of some sculptural representations of the Jaina *tīrthankaras* within the enclosure of the brick-temple of Satdeulia in the district of Burdwan almost contemporary with Bahulara in Bankura leads to the inescapable conclusion that it was Jaina too A small stone tablet found in the Raina village of the same district represents images of two *tīrthankaras* side by side One of the images represents Candraprabhā as would be evident from the crescent moon upon his pedestal The other one is in much mutilated form, and thus it can not be identified definitely Similar stone tablet representing the images of Ṛṣabhanātha and Mahāvira is to be found in the British Museum [79] Rare metal and stone images of

the ninth and tenth centuries from Katwa, Ujānī, Maṅgalkoṭa, etc preserved in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, and Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad Museum point to wide prevalence of Jainism in the Burdwan district

Orissa

In Orissa, Jainism was known as far back as the eighth century BC[80] Tradition avers that the eighteenth *tīrthankara* Aranātha is said to have received his first alms in Rayapura which is in all probability the same as Rājapura described in the *Mahābhārata*[81] as the capital of Kaliṅga[82] The association of Pārśvanātha with Kaliṅga is alluded to in the Jaina texts such as, the *Ksetrasamāsa*, *Kumbhakara Jātaka*, *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra*, the *Pārśvanātha-carita* of Bhavadeva Suri, etc It is stated in the *Ksetrasamāsa* that Pārśvanātha in course of his wandering visited Tāmralipta (Tamluk in the Midnapur district of West Bengal) and Kopakataka (Kopari in the Balasore district of Orissa) The *Pārśvanātha-carita* narrates the story of the marriage of Pārsvanātha with Prabhāvatī after her rescue from the clutches of Kaliṅga Yavana An abduction scene in the Rānī-gumphā is taken to have represented this episode of marriage[83]

The Jaina *Karakandu-carita* mentions the miraculous enthronement of Karakandu in Kaliṅga while the *Kumbhakara Jātaka* and the *Uttarādhyāyana-sūtra* describe him as ruling over Kaliṅga contemporaneously with Naggati (Nagnajita) of Ganadhāra, Durmukha (Divimukha) of Pañcāla and Nami of Videha[84] The *Uttarādhyāyana sūtra*[85] significantly records that "these bulls of kings have adopted the faith of the Jainas, after having placed their sons on the throne, they exerted themselves as *Śramanas*" It thus shows that Pārsvanātha wandered over this region and initiated many people to his faith

According to the legendary account Mahāvira came to this state as a Parivrājaka and propagated his religion to the people The Jaina *Haribhadriya-vrtti* informs us that the ruler of Kaliṅga was a friend of Mahāvīra's father, and he invited Mahāvīra to preach his faith[86] K P Jayaswal[87] believes that Mahāvīra personally propounded his religion in the Kumārī hill of Kaliṅga The representations of lion in the sculptures of various caves and on the several column further strengthens his view that the two hills were sacred to the memory of Mahāvīra

Kaliṅga was undoubtedly a part of the Nanda kings of Magadha as is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription[88] The record twice mentions a Nandarāja, but his name is not referred to The identification of this Nanda king is a matter of controversy among the scholars[89] He was possibly the first Nanda king, the destroyer of all the Kṣatriya (*Sarva ksatrāntaka*), Mahāpadma Nanda who is credited by the Purānas with the conquest of Kaliṅga[90] In the Hathigumpha record it is stated that after defeating Kaliṅga king, the Nanda king took away the image of *Kalinga-Jina* as a trophy of his victory (*Nanda-rājanītam, Kalinga-Jina samnives ini*)[91]

Opinion differs regarding the identification of the Kaliṅga-*Jina* While K P Jayaswal and R D Banerji[92] identify him with Śitalanātha and A C Mittal with Mahāvira, N K Sahu takes him as Rṣabhanātha who had great hold in the religions and in the Jaina art tradition of Orissa[93] We may also assume from this record that the Nandas were the followers of this faith and they, naturally did not destroy the image of Kaliṅga *Jina* as it was preserved till the time of Khāravela (c second half of the first century BC) The prevalence of the Jainas in Orissa during the time of Aśoka is known from his Rock Edict XIII where he specifically mentioned that Kaliṅga was inhabited by the Brāhmanas and Śramanas and it was for their miseries that Aśoka expressed his profound sorrow and deep repentance

Under the patronage of the illustrious king Khāravela of the Mahāmeghavāhana Cedi dynasty, Jainism enjoyed its hey day in Orissa The Hathigumpha record of this king opens with an appeal to the *arhat* and *siddha*, corresponding to the beginning of the five-fold form of homage[94] still used among the Jainas, and mentions the building of temples in honour of the *arhat* as well as an image of *Jina*, which was taken away by the hostile Nanda king The record tells us that Khāravela invaded Magadha and brought back the image of the Kalinga-*Jina* and that he provided shelters for Jaina monks on the Kumāri (Udaygiri Orissa) hill erected many pillars and repaired old temples Another inscription of the same place also asserts that Khāravela's wife caused a cave to be prepared for the ascetics of Kalinga who believed on the *arhats* It evidently shows that royal patronage of the Cedi dynasty helped the Jaina *Munis* to spread out their faiths among the common man of the region

It is interesting to note in this connection a panel of sculpture

still existing on the Mañchapurī cave in the Udayagiri hill T N Ramachandran describes the panel in the following words

"The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave (the Mañchapurī cave) is the central scene on the facade of the verandah Though unfortunately mutilated, what remains shows a throne with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women The first man near the throne is badly mutilated He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sarnath Let us call him the prince Behind the prince stand two women of equal status The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the princess Above the king and the prince are two *gandharvas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole Above the women adjoining the *gandharvas* there is a representation of a full blown lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Sūrya While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharvas* over the party bring out their importance Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Khāravela), the prince (perhaps Kuḍepasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kaliṅga-*Jina* which Khāravela recovered from Magadh and restored to his people?"[95]

If the identification suggested by T N Ramachandran is taken for consideration it would then mean that the royal patronage was extended not only by way of financial assistance, or of excavating caves for the Jaina *Munis* alone, but the involvement of the royal personnel actively accelerated and helped the faith to secure a prime and predominate position in the religious history of Orissa just before the closing of the pre-Christian era The excavation of several rock-cut caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri hills in Orissa in honour of the Jaina *Munis* also exhibit adequate reflection of the flourishing condition of this faith

Fabri's observations on the Jaina caves of Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri are worth quoting –' The first patently obvious fact that emerges is simply this that the sixty odd caves in these two hills must have taken several hundred years to excavate, they show such a development of styles and even if the occupation was not as long as at Ajanta, where we find a thousand years of artistic activity, Khandagiri and Udayagiri must have taken some 350

years to create There is evidence of Jaina occupation from the 2nd century BC into the 11th century AD, perhaps with a gap of a few hundred years between the 2nd century AD and the 8th "[96] In fact, there had been no significant development of Jainism in Orissa after second century AD till the time of the eighth-ninth centuries AD There are several reasons behind the decline of this religion during this period Two principal causes—viz, (i) revival of neo-Brāhmanical religion and (ii) the collapse of commercial activities of the trading communities who were its chief patrons on the eastern coast, may be considered for a sharp decline of Jainism all alone the eastern coast soon after third century AD

Occasional references to the existence of Jainism in Orissa in the early centuries of the Christian era are not wanting, but these are too scanty to come to any definite conclusion The discovery of a gold coin of Mahārāja-rājādhirāja Dharmadāmadharasya from the Śiśupālagarh excavation leads A S Altekar[97] to believe that he was probably a Jaina king of the Muruṇḍa family who dominated this region in the post-Khāravela period According to Altekar the Muruṇḍa king Dharmadāma flourished in the third century AD and ruled over a part of Bihar and Orissa with his capital at Pātaliputra Even a king of Kalinga, as mentioned in the *Daṭhā-vaṁśa*, was converted to Buddhism from Jainism and all the Nir-granthas being driven out from Kalinga took shelter in the court of king Pāṇḍu of Pātaliputra The introduction of Buddhism in Orissa temporarily checked the growth of Jainism, but the faith was not totally rejected by the people as the narrative of Hiuen-Tsang speaks of the Jainas in Kalinga—"Among the unbelievers *the most numerous are the Nirgranthas*" [98] The Banpur plate of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja (*c* sixth-seventh century AD) states that his queen Kalyāṇa Devī granted a gift of land to a Jaina *Muni* named Prabuddhacandra for religious purposes He was a disciple of *Arhatācārya* Nāsicandra [99] However, the donation from a royal family not only shows the religious toleration of the Śailodbhavas but also demonstrates that the Jaina *ācāryas* were respected in the then society Another Jaina inscription[100] consisting of four lines in east Indian characters of the seventh century AD found from Ratnagiri hills in the Cuttack district It refers to the installation of Jaina images and points to the existence of an early Jaina establishment on these hills A large number of bronze images of different sects, viz, Buddhist, Jainas and Brāhmanical

has been unearthed from Achutranjpur close to the Banpur Police station in the Purī district[101] The representation of at least eight Jaina figures dating tenth eleventh centuries AD indicates that Jainism continued to be a living faith in this region to an appreciable extent

A systematic exploration report of the Prachi valley (on the eastern bank of the river Prachi, 37 kilometres from Bhuvaneshwar, Cuttack district) reveals that Jainism along with other religious creeds also flourished here A number of Jaina images are lying scattered in various parts of the valley, even images are kept inside the Śiva temples Two images of Ṛṣabhadeva of the *c* sixth-seventh century AD have been kept inside the ruined temples of Svapanesvara and Nīlakanthesvara at Adaspur[102] Several other images of the *tīrthankaras* are also found from various places of the Prachi valley The *Archaeological Survey Report* states that

"A miniature image of Rsabhanātha was noticed in the Visvāmitra Āsrama near Kakatpur and a similar type of small mutilated image was lying near the Bharadwaja Āsrama (both the Āśramas situated in a horizontal line of the Prachi valley) It creates an impression that Jainism of this area was not in the state of decay when Shaktism predominated the place during the 9th century AD and the goddess Mangala (the temple of Mangala near to the site) was worshipped as the *Pistha Devī* of the valley from that time

"A very beautiful image of Pārśvanātha is to be found inside the temple of Grāmesvara of the Prachi valley, five kilometres from Nayāhat This image has been disfigured and locally called as the Kāmadeva Pairs of Yaksa-Yaksinī images pertaining to Jainism is to be found in several sites of the Prachi valley An image of Yaksa associated with Neminātha, one of the Jaina *tīrthankaras*, is to be found in the Antaravedi *maṭha* (at the place where the Prachi, Saraswati and Maṇikarṇikā meet) near Banamalipur of the Prachi valley"[103]

The continuity of this faith among the people and the royal families of this region is shown by the discovery of a large number of epigraphical and iconographical representations from the early medieval period onwards Mention may be made in this connection two Digambara Jaina inscriptions from Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves in Orissa These two records were issued during the fifth and eighteenth regnal years of Udyota Keśarī (*c* AD 1040-65) of the Keśarī dynasty of Orissa The first inscription of Udyota

Keśarī in the Lalitendu Keśarī cave records that "in the year five of the victorious reign of the illustrious Udyota Keśari, on the illustrious Kumāra mountain,[104] decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine, (and) at that place the images of the twenty-four *tīrthankaras* were set up At the time of the dedication Jasanandi in the place (temple?) of the illustrious Pāraśyanātha (Pārśvanātha)"[105] The second inscription is found in the Navamuni cave refers of Udyota Keśarī issuing in his eighteenth year of reign refers to Khal'a Subhacandra as the disciple of the lord of the illustrious, the *ācārya* of the Desigana derived from Graha kula, Kulacandra, belonging to the illustrious Ārya Saṃgha[106] The bearing of the inscriptions is very significant showing that Khaṇḍagiri again became the centre of the Jaina activities in the eleventh century AD at the time of the Saiva king Udyota Keśari

The discovery of a large number of Jaina icons primarily representing the *tīrthankaras* in the eighth to eleventh centuries AD testifies the revival of Jainism in Orissa Images of Jaina *tīrthankaras* are found in Jajpur, Nandanpur, and in Bhairava-Sinhapura of Koraput district In the Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Purī districts we have the icons of Rsabhanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvira Of these an image of Ambikā and that of Rsabhanātha and Mahāvīra in one stela are preserved in the British Museum, while another, a standing bronze of Ādinātha in the Indian Museum, Calcutta[107] In the Orissa State Museum there are four beautiful images of the *tīrthankaras* from the village Charampa in the Balasore district and some of them have a number of double concave marks on their bodies The Jaina temple at Cuttack has many rare specimens of *tīrthankaras* of mediaeval period as objects of devotion Among them the representation of Rsabhanātha and Mahāvīra on a single slab and a wonderful slab containing Ṛṣabhanātha in *padmāsana* pose being attended by Bharata and Bahuvali along with more than a hundred miniature standing figures are of great iconographic interest[108]

It is, however, to be noted that inspite of the rise of the Śaivas, the Jainas continued to have survived without any fear of persecution from the Brāhmanical religious system K C Pānigrahi observes that the Śaivas do not seem to have developed an antagonism towards Jainism as is evident from the fact that they have sometimes allowed the Jaina images to be carved on their temples The Śaiva temple of Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara has thus a number

of miniature Jaina icons on the outer face of its octagonal compound wall[109]

The two miniature *Caityas* containing *tīrthankaras* in their sides resemble the *Caitya* described by N N Vasu from Boḍasāhi in Mayurbhanja district Jaina images are to be found in the Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple and inside the Mātṛkā group of temples in Jajpur in the Cuttack district Pārsvanātha is being worshipped as Ananta Vāsudeva in a temple at Nārāyaṇa Chowk of the town The image of Śāntinātha (32″ × 16½′) of the Mātṛkā temple with trilinear umbrella overhead is in the *kāyotsarga*-pose The image is flanked by twenty-four miniature *tirthankaras* on its side and two *caurī*-bearers, while at the top we find the usual *lāñchana*, two *kalasas* on one side and another *kalasa* and a devotee on the other side Another image of Śāntinātha (45″ × 22½′) inside the compound of the Akhaṇḍaleśvara temple is equally interesting to note The standing image is surrounded by eight planets carved four each on the two sides, the ninth planet Ketu being absent The image is attended upon by two *caurī*-bearers and overhead there are two flying Vidyādharas

But Jainism did not last long and the subsequent decline of Jainism in Orissa is most probably due to the increasing hold of Vaiṣṇavism in general and of Jagannātha worship in particular According to some scholars the Jaina influence was so deep rooted in the religious life of this region that even in the composition of the Jagannātha cult its influence is clearly visible The worship of the trident as a sacred symbol and the 'all pervading conception of three into one', according to scholars, essentially and originally belonged to Jainism The epithet "Nātha" of Jagannātha is a characteristic title of Jainism and the figure of Jagannātha is only a synthesis of the Jaina *Baddhamangala* and *Nandipada* The *Jñānasiddhi* of Indrabhūti mentions Lord Jagannātha as being worshipped by all the Jainas In fact, the absorption of Jainism into the Hindu religious fold is one of the reasons that paved the way for its decay "This Jagannātha cult, is in reality an amalgam of different cults and religions, and even of the practices and faiths followed by the primitive tribes There was therefore a grand experiment in the field of religion in this eastern coast of India to reduce heterogeneity to a sort of homogeneity The religious system, thus evolved, still prevails in Orissa without much change"[110]

Like the Buddhists the Jainas too had their *stūpas* with the usual architectural decorations, but these architectural specimens are very few in eastern India The worship of the foot-prints of *tīrthankaras* and preceptors is quite in vogue with the Jainas, their places of pilgrimage like Paresnath Hill in Bihar are all marked with them The worship of idols is a part and parcel of Jainism, almost from the beginning The Jaina temples contain statues of *tīrthankaras*, etc , at times more than one Digambaras worship nude images, the question of nudity does not arise if the statues are in a seated posture, the idols as such have no dress and decorations, shown in carving, however, the Śvetāmbaras, now-a-days, decorate them Both the sects worshipped the *tīrthankaras* and many other gods and goddesses The Jaina sculptures belonging to the period from AD 600 to 1000 mostly contain the figures of the *tīrthankaras* with the attendants, Sarasvatī, Ambikā, Yakṣas, Yakṣiṇīs, and the Dikpālas The introduction of the twenty-four Yakṣas and Yakṣinīs as attendant of the *tīrthankaras* was a new development to Jaina iconography in the eighth-ninth century AD

Later on, the nine planets on two sides of a *tīrthankara* came to be figured The latter practice was first developed in the eastern school of medieval art [111]

We have also the figures of the mothers of the twenty-four *Jinas* each with a child on her lap All these sculptures are mostly in bronze or stone On the basis of a study of these Jaina icons U P Shah tries to find out the geographical distribution of both the sects

"In the period, the Jainas, especially the Digambaras, had strongholds in the whole of Central India, while in the west the Śvetāmbaras were growing stronger South of Bhrgukaccha (Broach), the Digambaras had an establishment at Navasari while in the Khandesh, M P , and the Deccan, the Śvetāmbaras were gradually diminishing in number In the east, in Bihar and Orissa, Digambara Jainism was still popular whereas in Bengal it was already on the decline "[112]

Lack of royal patronage in the later part of our period may also be considered as one of the reasons for the decline of Jainism in this part of India Of course the discovery of a large number of archaeological remnants of the Jainas in eastern India in the eighth-ninth centuries onwards demonstrates the revival of the faith for the time being but it did not last long It may not be

unlikely to assume that this was to a great extent conducted with the influence of the Rāṣṭrakūtas who were staunch followers and great patrons of Jainism From the Sanjan Copperplate of Amoghavarsa[113] we come to know that Govinda III conquered the kingdoms of Kośala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dahala and Oḍraka He extended his empire upto the Himalayas The Nilgund stone inscription of the same king records that Amoghavarṣa was worshipped by the rulers of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha[114] The Rāṣṭrakūta hegemony continued in this part till the time of Kṛṣna III In the Deoli Grant of Kṛṣna-III, Kṛṣna-II is said to have been worshipped by the Aṅgas, Magadhas and others[115] On the basis of a copperplate grant at a much later date (AD 1076) it is proved that there was a Rāstrakūta principality in Orissa About the plate D C Sircar observes "The Rāstrakūta copperplate inscription in question was found from a village near Bāngarh in the Sambalpur district It was issued in the year 56 from Vāgharākotta by a Rāstrakūta ruler of feudatory rank named Parāchakrasalya who was the son of Dha (Dhva)msaka and the grandson of Rānaka Chāmaravigraha"[116] It is probable that after their invasion the Rāṣtrakūtas left some of the adventurers in their army to carve out small principalities in Orissa[117] They followed Jainism as their religion and revived its existence for sometimes

While mentioning various other reasons for the decline of Jainism in India in general it may be noted that in Jainism, we have also a number of deities assimilated in the pantheon which bear a close similarity with some of the divinities in Brāhmaṇical faith These deities are no doubt later absorptions in the sect from orthodox Hinduism with modified attributes and iconography But they have an important place in the hierarchy of gods in Jainism with definite and important functions assigned to them Hindu gods are usually portrayed in the Jaina temples in the form of small figures before the portrayals of *tīrthankaras* and *siddhas* Thus, while in Jainism the twenty-four *tīrthankaras*, from the highest object of worship with the *Śāsana-devatās*, showing important and interesting iconography for each one of them with a religious legend mostly forming the background, there are others who partaking of the character of Yakṣas and divinities have been accepted as popular deities in Jainism[118] Earlier we have mentioned that every *tīrthankaras* has his own goddess-messenger, connecting him with the world of the mortals Goddess Padmāvatī is thus associat-

ed with Pārśva, Ambikā with Neminātha, etc These deities are referred to in a number of Jaina texts, but their functions are described elaborately in the texts of the Digambaras, who have secret texts devoted to these deities, wherein their forms, names, symbols, weapons, etc, are described[119] Even the Jainas agree with the Brāhmanas alone in ascetic self-torture, which Buddhism vehemently opposes Not only to these, the Jainas even observed, of course, in the later period, festivals and fasts which are distinctly Hindu festivals, viz, Ganeśa caturthī, Ananta-caturdaśi, Divālī, Rakṣābandhana, etc[120] With the fusion of some of these Brāhmanical traditions into it, Jainism gradually lost its followers and it became ultimately a religion of few mercantile families of western and southern India In other states their number is negligible in comparison to other major sects

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[1]*Jaina Journal* April, 1969, pp 148ff
[2]*Supra*, the table of the *tirthankaras*, pp 22 25
[3]B C Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sutras*
[4]*AN* 3 74
[5]*Uttaradhyaya-sutta*, ch XX
[6]*Aupapatika-sūtra*, 30
[7]*Pariśiṣṭa parvan* VI 34
[8]Ibid V, 208
[9]V A Smith, *EHI* p 154
[10]V A Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p 379
[11]R G Basak *Aśokan Inscriptions* Pillar Edict VII, pp 111 12
[12]*Parisiṣṭaparvan*, XI, pp 69ff
[13]*Bṛhat kalpa bhuṣya*, III, *gathas*, 3285-89ff, 917-21
[14]*All India Oriental Conference* XXVI, 1972
[15]*JRAS*, 1908, p 852
[16]The Ānava kingdom, the nucleus of which was Aṅga, became divided into five kingdoms, said to have been named after five sons of king Bali Pargiter opines that the Ānavas held all East Bihar Bengal proper and Orissa comprising the kingdoms of Anga, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra Suhma and Kaliṅga (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p 293) All these people were belonged to the same community Ethnographically they were connected with the Kaliṅgas and other peoples of the plains of Bengal (*Cambridge History of India* p 534)
[17]B C Law, *Some Jaina Canonical Sutras*, p 176
[18]Ibid, *HGAI*, pp 205, 214ff
[19]*Kalpa-sutra*, p 135
[20]C J Shah op cit p 93
[21]*Uvasagadasāo* (ed, Hoernle), p 2 fn

[22]Beglar, *ASI*, vol III, Qureshi, *Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa*, see Bhagalpur section
[23]*ASI*, *AR*, 1905-6, pp 25-26
[24]*ASI*, I pp 55 56, XVI, p 6, B C Law, *HAGI*, p 265
[25]*Jaina sūtras*, part I, Introduction, XI
[26]B C Law, *Rajagrha in Ancient Literature*, *MASI*, no 58
[27] *ASI*, *AR*, 1 05-6, p 98
[28]*ASI*, *AR*, 1925-26, pp 125ff
[29]Ibid , 1905 6, p 98, fn 1, 1925-26, pp 125ff
[30]*Sumangala-vilāsinī* I 35
[31]*Mahāvastu*, III 56
[32]Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p 537
[33]U P Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* pp 17-18
[34]In the Buddhist Tantric terminology the word *Vajra* signifies holy', so *Vajrabhumi* means holyland Sarat Chandra Das in his *Autobiography* writes "I learnt the meaning of the following names Darjeeling (a purely Tibetan name formed of two words *Dorje*, meaning thunder or *Vajra*, and *ling*, land or *Bhūmi*) signifying the thunder-land' or *Vajra Bhumi* " *Indian Studies Past and Present*, IX 1967-68 p 259, fn 4
[35]N L Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*
[36]*Jaina Harivamśa-purana* p 717, C J Shah, op cit , p 26
[37]*ASI*, p 74, XVI, p 118, B C Law *HGAI*, p 116
[38]P C Nahar, *Tirthapavapuri* (1925), *ASI*, *Reports*, vols VIII & XI, B C Law, *Geographical Essays* p 210
[39]Mrs S Stevenson, op cit p 72
[40]U P Shah *Studies in Jaina Art*, p 13
[41]*JBORS*, XXIII pp 130-32 Pls I IV Stylistically this image is analogous to the mutilated red stone statues from Harappa (J Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization* I Pl X a d) The Harappan style is also found on a bronze statue of Pārśvanātha belonging to the first century BC which is now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay The provenance of this statue is unknown U P Shah, op cit pp 8 9
[42]N Kumar, *Images of Patna*, 1971 pp 18-19
[43]*JBORS*, XXV 2, pp 120ff
[44]*JJ*, 1969, April, pp 132ff Similar treatment had been made by the people of Rāḍha in North Bengal
[45]O' Malley, *District Gazetteer of Singhbhum*, 1906
[46]D R Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, p 356
[47]Ibid , pp 347 49
[48]*Bihar and Orissa District Gazatteer*, 1917, p 201, *ASI Report*, 1920-21, p 35, D R Patil (*The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*, p 659) gives a list of places for the Jaina temples
[49]The *Upāśrayas* 'are separate buildings erected by each sect for their monks and nuns An *upāśraya* is a large bare hall without bathrooms and cooking places furnished only with wooden beds' Stevenson *Modern Jainism* p 38
[50]According to *Bhadravāhu-carita* by Ratnanandi *Bṛhat-Kathakośa* by Hariṣeṇa and *Rajavali* by Devacandra Bhadravahu, the author of the *Kalpa-sūtra*, was a man of Puṇḍravardhana in North Bengal, and Jambusvāmi who assisted the

reading of the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra*, the first authentic scripture of the rituals, lived the closing days of his life at Devīkoṭa in Puṇḍravardhana K M Sen, *Cinmaya-Vanga*, pp 17-32, P C Banerjee, *Bāngālāra-Purāvṛtta*, pp 129 30

[51]Jacobi, *Kalpa sūtra*, p 79

[52]Hunter, III, 49 51, D R Bhandarkar, *ABORI*, XII, 104ff

[53]*Mbh* , II, 30, *HB* (Dacca), pp 8-9

[54]*JASB* (*NS*), XXVIII, p 125

[55]*Divyāvadāna* (ed Cowell and Neil), XXVIII, *Vītāśakavadana*, p 427

[56]R D Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal*, p 72

[57]On the site of this Jaina *vihāra* was later on constructed a Buddhist monument of outstanding plan and design which has been laid bare by excavation at Paharpur (K N Dikshit, *Paharpur*, p 7) According to Dikshit, the great temple with its terraces and the paved plateform in the centre was inspired by the symbolic construction of a Jaina shrine conforming to the architectonic type of a *Caumukha* "In this connection" as pointed out by S K Saraswati, "we should also take into account a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma, which may be described as an adaptation of *Caumukha* shrines of the Jainas" *HB* (Dacca), p 507

[58]*EI*, XX, pp 59ff The earliest available Jaina image in Bengal possibly hails from the ruins of Candraketugarh It is a standing headless naked image of the Gupta period —N R Ray *Bangalir Itihasa*, p 966, fig 31

[59]From the description of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (St Julien, p 224), who calls them *Li hi*, it appears that they were still faithful to their principles in the beginning of seventh century AD 'The *Li-hi* (Nirgranthas) distinguishes themselves by leaving their bodies naked and pulling out their hair Their skin is all cracked, their feet are hard and chapped like rotting trees that one sees near rivers' Buhler, *Indian Sects of the Jainas*, p 2, fn 2

[60]Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p 184

[61]Ibid , p 187

[62]*HB* (Dacca), p 411, fn 3

[63]*VRS Report*, 1932-34, pp 17-19, pl III

[64]It is to be noted that these *Lāñchanas* do not tally exactly with the list given by Hemacandra in his *Abhidhanacintāmani* in cases of Sumatinatha, Supārśva nātha and Anantanātha (S K Saraswati, *JASB* (*NS*), XXVIII, p 193) The *lāñchanas* as given by Hemachandra are *Krauñca* (heron), *Svastika*, and falcon instead of the animal, lotus and boar as shown in the sculpture

[65]*ASI*, 1929-30, p 195

[66]*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no 2, 1958, p 132

[67]Ibid , pp 131-32

[68]Several other Ṛṣabhanātha images have been noted from other parts of Bengal of which one was described by K D Dutta in the *VRS Monographs*, no 3, pp 9 10

[69]*VSP Cat* , 47-48, pl X, *HB* (Dacca), p 465, pl XIX, 48

[70]*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no 2, 1958, p 132, pl III-B

[71]*JJ*, April, 1969, p 162

[72]*JAS Letters*, XXIV, no 2, 1958, pp 133-34

[73]Ibid , p 134, pl X

[74] *ASI Report*, 1972-73, vol VIII, *JJ*, April, 1969, pp 163-64
[75] Nirmal Kumar Bose, *Pravāsī*, 1340, Bhādra, *Bānkurāra Mandira*, pp 68ff
[76] *JJ*, April, 1969 pp 164 65
[77] *HB* (Dacca), p 465
[78] Ibid, p 465, pl XIX, 49
[79] This was probably collected from Bengal, *JJ*, April, 1969, p 165
[80] V A Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p 380
[81] *Mbh*, XII 4 3
[82] H C Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p 79
[83] C J Shah, op cit, pp 154-55
[84] H C Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, p 78
[85] *SBE*, XLV
[86] R D Banerjee *History of Orissa*, I, pp 61
It may be noted that a somewhat late text (*Āvaśyaka-niryukti*, V, 55, 501f) mentions that Mahāvīra had visited Tosali (in Orissa) more than once and the king of that place had tied Mahāvira with chords seven times
[87] *JBORS*, III pp 425ff
[88] *SI*, pp 206ff
[89] H C Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, pp 206ff, S Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, pp 35ff, 56ff
[90] H C Raychaudhuri *PHAI*, p 206
[91] K P Jayaswal, *JBORS*, III pp 425ff, K P Jayaswal & R D Banerjee, *EI*, XX, pp 72ff, B M Barua (*IHQ*, XIV 1938, pp 259ff) reads it as such—*Nanda-rāja-jitam ca Kalinga jana samniveśam*
[92] *EI* XX, pp 72ff
[93] N K Sahu, *History of Orissa*
[94] The venerable *Pañca parameṣṭhin* of Jainism are *Arhat* or *Tīrthankara*, *Siddha Ācarya Upadhyāya* and *Sādhu*
[95] *IHQ*, XXVII, 1951, pp 103 4
[96] Charles Louis Fabri *History of the Art of Orissa*, p 18
[97] *Ancient India*, no 5, p 97
A close scrutiny of some of the epigraphic records (*Luder's List*, nos 1348-53) discloses the existence of various Jaina devotees Inscription no 1348 speaks of a prince called Vadhuka who was a Jaina votary Besides the people of different categories a servant (*padamūlika*) called Kusuma is also said to have made donation (no 1344) for the betterment of the faith
[98] Beal, *Si yu ki*, II, p 208
[99] *EI*, XXIX, pp 38ff
[100] *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, *1954-55*, p 29
[101] D Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments*, p 225
[102] *Prācīvalley Arch Sur Report*, Orissa State Arch, Bhuvaneshwar, 1975, p 53
[103] Ibid, p 54
[104] Kumāraparvata is mentioned in the Hathigumpha inscription as Kumārī-parvata This mountain was known to Hariṣeṇa (AD 931) as Kumaragiri of Oḍraviṣaya —*Bṛhat-Kathākosa* 61 67
[105] *EI* XIII, p 167

[106]Ibid , p 166
[107]U P Shah *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp 17-18
[108]*JJ*, April, 1969, p 173
[109]K C Pāṇigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneśvara*, p 93, fig 60
[110]Ibid , p 262
[111]The planets were generally carved on the pedestal of a *tīrthaṅkara* image in the western school
[112]U P Shah, op cit , pp 17ff
[113]*EI*, XVIII, p 253
[114]*EI*, VI, p 103
[115]*EI*, V, p 193
[116]K C Pāṇigrahi, op cit , p 248, fn 1
[117]Ibid , p 248
[118]*IHQ*, XXIX, pp 332ff
[119]*Prācī-Jyoti*, December, 1963, p 35
[120]V A Sangave, *Jaina Community*, p 100, Mention may be made in this connection that in north and west India, merging of Hindu and Jaina communities was especially active Here in the edifice of many Jaina castes, there are groups, professing Viṣṇuism, and in the edifice of many Hindu castes, there are components which are registered as Jainas

APPENDIX

On the Ājīvikas

THE role played by the Ājīvikas in the history of the heterodox religious systems, in general, and Jainism, in particular, is unique as well as significant in many respect It has already been brought into light[1] that all the *avaidika* teachers belonged to the same age and the same region and they responded and reacted in their respective ways which were more or less similar to the same stimuli due to stupendous socio-political and religious transformation It is, thus, no wonder that the entire development of religion and philosophy in this period in the Gangetic Valley region, from Upaniṣadic gnosis to complete materialism, was but a reflection of the non Aryan reaction to the Aryan sacrificial system and to the rigid Aryan social order of the four *varnas*[2] In course of time these two distinct dominant traditions gave rise to innumerable cross-currents, sometimes completely losing their separate identity, and at other times merging in a confluence, only to re-emerge again in a new form and dimension, and flow in opposite directions The religious history of India is, in fact, the history of the mutual influence of these two great traditions that resulted in the transformation of the Vedic religion of the Indo-Aryans into modern Hinduism

While writing on the relationship between the Ājīvikas and the Jainas, Jacobi points out that "the greatest influence on the development of Mahāvīra's doctrines, I believe, must be ascribed to Gosāla, the son of Makkhali "[3] To have a proper understanding of the faith a brief survey on the origin and early history of the school and its organisation has been taken into consideration in the following

The word Ājīvika seems to have derived from *Ājīviya* which means one who follows some rules with regard to one's liveli-

hood[4] The Buddhist texts speak of *Samyagājīva* as one of the eight paths to be followed by monks It leads scholars to presume that a class of mendicants who lived initially by a profession as a means of livelihood was gradually known as Ājīviya

B M Barua suggests a broad connotation of the term It "is used in Indian Literature—

(i) in its widest sense to denote the Parivrājakas or Wanderers as distinguished from the *Tāpasas* or hermits,
(ii) in its narrower sense to denote the religious orders represented by the five *tīrthankaras*, Pūrana Kassapa, Makkhali Gośāla and the rest, considered heretics by the Buddhists, and
(iii) in its narrowest sense to denote the disciples and followers of Makkhali or Maṅkhaliputta Gosāla "[5]

According to Hoernle the word Ājīvika or Ājīvaka is derived from the term *Ājīva* which means "the mode of life, or profession, of any particular class of people, whether they live as householders or as religious mendicants "[6]

The history of the Ājīvikas is very much entangled with the contribution and doctrines of Gośāla who is designated by the term Maṅkhaliputra, i e , son of Maṅkhali His name is spelt variously—Makkhali Gośāla in Pāli, Maskarin in Sanskrit, Mankhaliputra Gośāla in Ardha-Magadhī, and Markali in Tamil

The term 'Mankhalivta', as applied to Gośāla means the profession of exhibiting pictures for collecting alms[7] Hoernle placed much emphasis on the term 'Makkhali' in connection with the origin of the Ājīvikas "It describes Gosāla as having originally belonged to the Maṅkhali or Maskarin class of religious mendicants The Maskarin, as a rule, led a solitary life and the adoption of this manner of life was open to very grave abuses Hence some men of commanding personality conceived the task of regulating the tendency (to absuses) by organizing the mendicants into communities governed by strict rule of conduct "[8]

Pānini refers to Maskarin as a Parivrājaka[9] The word, as we have already pointed out, means a mendicant bearing a staff, of whatever class or order This historical significance of the word is well explained in the *Mahābhāsya* Patañjali while explains the

term remarks that "this kind of wandering mendicant (Parivrājaka) was called Maskarin not so much because he carried a staff as because he professed to have renounced all activities"[10] The *Arthaśāstra*[11] speaks of the sect along with other heretical sects, like the Śākyas (the Buddhists), but no mention is made of the Nirgranthas or Jainas showing that the Ājīvikas were more influential and powerful or worthy of support than those of the Jainas, at least, during the time of the Mauryas

It is not easy to trace the entire course of history and its transformation since the inception of this school of thought with any great certainty But it is possible to observe the moments of mutual impacts and consequent adjustments among the different heretical schools as reflected in the contemporary literatures, both heretical and Brāhmanical, as well as archaeological objects like epigraphy, icons, etc

The Ājīvikas emerged as an independent heretical sect in eastern India as early as the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra The first Ājīvika whom Buddha met and conversed was Upaka[12] It is stated that Buddha in course of his journey towards Sāranātha (near Benaras, U P) for expressing his experience of 'Release' *vis-a-vis* preaching his *Dharma* to the *Pañcavagīya* ascetic had come into contact with the noted Ājīvika ascetic apparently near Gaya Upaka is said to have encountered with the Buddha in connection with latter's enlightenment as well as Buddha s claim of *Jina hood*[13] "If the legend of Upaka be accepted" as agreed by A L. Basham, 'it must be taken to imply that Ājīvika mendicants roamed the roads of Magadha at least a generation before the commencement of Gosāla's ministry'[14]

In fact, all these are in a conjectural stage The history of the beginning of the Ājīvikas like that of the Jainas is shrouded in many confusions and complications Of course, a viable chronology of the history and development of the sect with considerable amount of certainty can be worked out after Gosāla, but the Pāli texts never depict Gośāla as the founder of the sect[15] Several teachers like Nanda Vaccha,[16] Kisa Sankicca[17] and Panḍuputta[18] are mentioned in the Pāli canon and it appears that at least the first two were represented as important personalities in the field of contemporary religion and philosophy[19] Pūraṇa Kassapa, as mentioned earlier,[20] had a great difference for these two teachers and also Gośāla,[21] as he includes them in the sixth or the purest type

(*paramasukhā-bhijātas*) of men Elsewhere Buddha[22] declares that although the Ājīvikas had existed for a long time, they had only three reputed teachers, viz, Nanda Vaccha, Kisa Sankicca and Makkhali Gośāla It evidently shows that Ājivikism was an established and well organised school of philosophy at the time of Buddha, and Gośāla was only one of the distinguished teacher of the school His contribution towards the development of this religious sect and its organisation made him reputed apparently to the extent of its founder

It is interesting to note in this connection that the Ājivikas, like the *tīrthankara* conception of the Jainas, believes in a succession of ascetic teachers of the same order of Gosāla who is the eighth Ājīvika teacher The *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[23] speaks of the following seven "Ājīvika teachers whose spiritual mantle had fallen upon his (Gośāla's) shoulders"[24]

(1) Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇīya
(2) *Eṇejjaga (Skt. Ṛṇañjaya)*
(3) Mallarāma
(4) Maṇḍiya
(5) Roha
(6) Bhāraddāī (Skt Bharadvāja)
(7) Ajjuna Goyamaputta

Due to paucity of any positive evidences it is rather hazardous to ascertain the historicity of the entire list of successive teachers of the Ājīvika order prior to Gosāla A L Basham argues that "the immediate predecessor of Gosāla, Ajjuna Goyamaputta, is distinguished by a *gotra* name or patronymic, as Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyaṇa, in whose body the migrant soul was originally born but the other five names are given without patronymics"[25] This leads Basham to conclude that the first and the seventh were 'real', while the others seem to have been 'shadowy figures'[26] It is difficult to share the logic followed by Basham On the other hand, it may be argued that since the list has been prepared by the staunch enemies of the Ājīvikas, there is, no doubt, about its genuineness Secondly, it is not expected from the Jaina writer who composed *Bhagavatī-sūtra* to have an exhaustive record of the *vitae* of the personnel of their hostile camp Thirdly, the account further shows that "in this enumeration there is preserved a

genealogical succession of seven Ājīvika leaders, together with a list of successive geographical centres of their activities,"[27] including the period of their missionary life According to the list, Udāi Kuṇḍiyāyanīya, the first of the line, was associated with Rājagṛha and had preached for twenty-two years This leads the claim of Udāi as the founder of Ājīvika school in the celebrated Rājagṛha in Bihar The geographical location surrounded by the natural bulworks was congenial for the naked ascetics to practise their religion undisturbed

After Udāi, Eṇejjaga who was associated with the town Uddandapura (possibly somewhere in eastern India) had preached for twenty-one years The third teachers, Mallarāma who spent his missionary life at Campā and taught the principles of the Ājīvika religion for twenty years Maṇḍiya the fourth teacher was connected with Vārānasī covering a total period of nineteen years in missionary life Roha selected the town Ālabhiyā (Ālovi of the Pāli texts), near Śrāvasti, for preaching his religion for eighteen years The last two were Bharadvīja and his successor Ajjuna Goyamaputta covering seventeen and sixteen years respectively possibly in the region of Śrāvasti

In fact, there are several other *Jātaka* legends showing evidently the antiquity and prevalence of the Ājīvikas before Gośāla [28] Pānini speaks of the Ājivikas Of course, the system was not in an organised form in this period Gośāla moulded it into an organised and metaphysical form and made it popular in the realm of contemporary religious field And by the time of the Mauryas as we shall see later on it included in the catalogue of the well organised and matured religious systems in India [29]

Gosāla is said to have born near Śrāvastī, and left home for some unknown reason and became a homeless wanderer It appears from the *Bhagavatī sūtra* that Gosāla in his early career accepted the professional life of his father and, at the same time, he developed some sort of repugnance against worldly life In his first meeting with Mahavīra in a weaver's workshop (*tantuvāyaśālā*) at Nālandā, he already attained the third year of asceticism [30] Gośāla was impressed with the power of asceticism of Mahāvīra and requested to allow him to be his pupil, but Mahāvīra did not at first oblige by initiating Gośāla as his disciple In his second thought Mahāvīra accepted Gośāla's request at a place called Kollaga near Nālandā [31]

Gośāla's career as a wanderer covers about twenty-four years, of which the first six he spent at Paṇiyabhūmi together with Mahāvīra. He parted company with the latter on account of doctrinal differences, and went to Śrāvastī, where he attained *Jina-hood* and became the leader of the Ājīvika sect.[32] The reason behind the separation of these two religious personalities represents two schools of ideas, although originally they belonged to the same group. Subsequently a bitter hostility developed between these two schools, but in some cases of their doctrines and tenets they have many points in common. And there is no denying the fact that Jainism owed in many respect to the doctrines propounded by the Ājīvika leader Gośāla.[33]

The Ājīvikas, like the Buddhists and the Jainas, formed an organised sect of religious body, a *Samgha*, with a corporated and social life. The communal life of the Ājīvikas is known from the Ājīviya *Sabhā* at the town of Polāsapura. The *Uvāsaga Dasāo*[34] states that Gosāla went to this *Sabhā*, attended by the Ājīviya *Samgha* and surrendered his begging bowl (*bhandaganikkhevam karei*). Again, the term *Ājīvika-sevyā* indicates the settlement of the Ājīvikas in a monastery or *vihāra*.[35] Due to the absence of any literature meant for the Ājīvikas exclusively it is not possible to sketch any rules and regulations stipulated to the Ājīvika monks during their stay in the *vihāra*. Still some ideas may be gathered from the scattered references to them in the Jaina and Buddhist texts. Regarding the induction into the Ājīvika order an indication of the processes of initiation is stated in the *Tittira Jātaka*.[36] It speaks of an unfortunate false ascetic who was prosecuted in the lion's court by a tiger and who was described as one having "burnt his hand by grasping a lump."[37] It is explained in the commentary "At the time of his going forth as an Ājīvika his hands were burnt by grasping a heated lump" (*Ājīvika-pabbajjam-pabbajita-kāla unha-pinda-paṭiggahanena hatth'āpikir'assa daḍdhā*).[38] An ascetic Guna is described in the *Mahānāradakassapa Jātaka*[39] as "an ignorant, naked, wretched and blindly foolish Ājīvika" (*Ajānantam nagga-bhoggam nissirīkam andha-bālam Ājīvikam*). The term '*nagga-bhoggam*' is interpreted as 'one whose goods are nakedness' in the Pāli-English Dictionary, but the word, as aptly suggested by A. L. Basham, would be taken to mean 'one naked and crippled.'[40] The Ājīvikas at the stage of initiation seem to have made themselves eligible to bear out these painful ordeals. One has to bear up all

these intolerable and difficult practices before going to be accommodated in the organisation

Children were not debarred to get entry into the order provided they showed their forbearance in accepting various kinds and/or degrees of penances A vivid description of an Ājīvika, named Jambuka while still a child, is to be found in the *Dhammapada* commentary [41] It is stated that the boy Jambuka was handed by his parents to a group of Ājīvika ascetics and requested them for his initiation into their order The boy was placed in a pit on which planks were set and the Ājīvikas, seated on the plants, pulled out his hair with a piece of the rib of a palm-leaf (*gala ppamāne avāṭe thapetvā, dvinnam jattūnam upari padarāni datvā, tesam upari nisīditvā, tal'aṭṭhi-khandena kesa luñcimsu*) [42] The custom of practising severe penances, and pulling the hairs from their heads was prevalent among the early Ājīvikas is attested by a famous Tamil Śaivite text of the thirteenth century AD, *Civaññāna-citt'yār* written by Arunandi Śivācārya [43]

The Ājīvikas were known as the followers of severe penance to the people of the Far East In the Chinese and Japanese Buddhist literatures the *Ashibikas* (i e Ājīvikas)[44] are placed together with the *Nikendabiras* or Nirgranthas "They both hold that the penalty for a sinful life must sooner or later be paid and since it is impossible to escape from it, it is better that it be paid as soon as possible so that the life to come may be free for enjoyment Thus their practices were ascetic-fasting silence immovability and the burying of themselves upto the neck were their expressions of penance [45] Of course, there are several other evidences depicting the Ājīvikas with a pile of matted locks [46] Even Gosāla is said to have torn out his beard in his last delirium Upaka and two other Ājīvikas are depicted at Borobuḍur with carefully set hair [47] In fact, the identification cannot be taken as final and conclusive What is important to note is that ' the Ājīvikas were not always tonsured or clean-shaven The extraction of the hair by the roots, like the grasping of the heated lump, was probably an ordeal intended to render the novice oblivious to physical pain, and to test his resolution, and, as with the Jainas,[48] was not usually repeated after initiation, or was only repeated at distant intervals "[49]

The inclusion of the female within the organisation of the Ājīvikas was permissible This can easily be deduced from the fact that the Ājīvikas while describing the six-fold classification of

humanity, according to their psychic colour, ordains the permission of women with equal status to enter into the Ājīvika order[50] How far constructive and positive role they played for the organisation cannot be estimated due to lack of evidences

The order, like Jainism and Buddhism, was also open to members of all classes of the society, irrespective of any caste, colour and status The *Mahāvaṃśa* commentary[51] refers to one Janāsana, a Kulūpaga Ājīvika in the court of Bindusāra who is said to have been of Brāhmana family Pāṇḍuputta, an well respected member of the order, was the son of a wagon-maker,[52] an occupation of the lower graded people[53] The *Vinaya-piṭaka*[54] speaks of one unnamed Mahamātta who was a follower of the Ājīvikas Another rich and earnest disciple from Śrāvasti was Ayampula who visited Gośāla during his last delirium[55] Trading and mercantile communities seem to have joined to this faith profusely Halāhalā the great mentor of Gosāla belonged to the potter community Similarly, Saddālaputta an affluent member of the potter community at Polāsapura supported for the organisation of the Ājīvika sect

The *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[56] depicts twelve Ājīvika laymen who maintained themselves on the principle of non-violence[57] They regarded Gośāla as god, attended their parents and abstained from taking five fruits, viz, *udumbara*, *vaṭa* (banyan), *vora* (jujube), *satara* (añjīra) and *pilankhu* and also from onion, garlic and bulbous roots 'The Ājīvikas' as suggested by A L Basham, "like the Buddhists and the Jainas, were believers in *ahimsā*, and usually vegetarians"[58]

The Ājīvikas performed several extremist type of austerities which sometimes lead to put an end of the life The description of some of the horrible penances would not be irrelevant in this connection Rigid penances like raising his hands high in the sunshine, rejection of six consecutive meals, living on mere beans or rice-gruel (*kulmāsa*) and on one sip of water in the beginning of asceticism, were performed by Gosāla for acquiring the power of fiery energy at the end of six months[59] The severity of asceticism of the Ājīvika monks is also exhibited in the process and practices of the following types of penances[60]

(i) *Ukkuṭikappadhāna*—exerting themselves in a squatting posture,
(ii) *Vagguli vata*—the bat-penance, i e swinging in the air like

bats,
(iii) *Kanṭaka ppasaya*—lying on a bed of thorns, and
(iv) *Pañca-tapana*—the penance of five fires

The continuity of these acts of self-mortification even today is to be found among the ascetics of other religious systems These are still in practice in the remote villages of eastern India in connection with the annual worship of *Dharma* or the worship of Śiva in the forms of Caraka, Gājana, Gambhīra, etc These horrible and piercing kinds of penances are basically the customs of the indigenous non-Aryan people having magico-religious attributes [61]

The Ājīvika mendicants may, according to their mode of begging and/or performance of penance, be grouped in the following categories [62]

(i) *Gharasamudaniyā*—those who begged food at every house,
(ii) *Dugharantariyā*—those who begged food at every third house,
(iii) *Tigharantariyā*—'hose who begged at every fourth house,
(iv) *Sattagharantariyā*—those who begged at every eighth house,
(v) *Uppala-benṭiyā*—who, according to Abhayadeva's commentary, under a special vow employed lotus stalks in begging (*utpala-vṛntāni niyama-viśesād grāhyatayā bhaikṣatvena yeṣām santite utpalavṛntikāh*),[63]
(vi) *Vijju-antariyā*—those who do not accept alms if there is a flash of lightning,
(vii) *Uṭṭiyā-samanā*—those ascetics who entered large earthen vessels for performing the highest penance (*Usṭrikā mahā-mṛnmayo bhājana-viśesas Tatra praviṣṭā ye śrāmyanti tapasyant'īti uṣṭrikāśramanāh*) [64]

It is, in fact, no exaggeration to presume the influence and spread of the Ājīvika ascetic in Indian religion in general and monasticism in particular Their organisational infrastructure was sound and solid The mention of different categories of ascetics makes it clear the existence of a well knit organisation of the system Another interesting point emanating from the prevalence of various kinds of ascetics is the gradation of the ascetics The

ascetics of the last category undoubtedly held an important and prime position, especially for their adherence to a severe form of penance when they entered large earthen vessels Evidences are not lacking relating to the variation of different types and gradations of austerities performed, possibly by different ascetics according to their requirements in various stages

There is no denying the fact that the Ājīvikas stressed much emphasis on the performance of severe austerities and moral discipline. The *Sthānānga-sūtra* mentions that the Ājīvikas practise four kinds of austerities, viz severe austerities, fierce austerities, austerities due to abstention from *ghee* and other delicacies, and indifference to pleasant and unpleasant food [65] They are also said to perform the following four-fold *brahmacarya*

(i) *Tapassitā*, i e asceticism,
(ii) *Lūkhacariyā*, i e austerity,
(iii) *Jeguccitā*, i e comfort-loathing, and
(iv) *Pavivittatā*, i e solitude

Anyway, these are some of the stray references scattered all over the Buddhist and the Jaina literatures showing different forms and stages of austerities performed by the Ājīvika mendicants Even stipulations were also made in connection with the acceptance of the four drinks (*pānagāim*) and the four substitutes for drink *apānagāim*) [66] The followings are the four 'kinds of liquid suitable to an ascetic'

(i) *Gopuṭṭhae*, i e cow's urine,
(ii) *Hattha-maddiyae*, i e water soiled by hand,
(iii) *Āyavatattae*, i e drink heated by the sunshine, and
(iv) *Silāpabbhaṭṭhae*, i e water dripping from a rock

Provisions for the substitutes for drink are also found mention in the texts

(i) *Thālapānae* (*Sthālapānaka*), i e. water kept in earthen jars, etc
(ii) *Tayā-pānae*, i e holding an unripe mango or other fruit in the mouth without drinking the juice,
(iii) *Simbali-pānae*, i e putting unripe *simbali*-beans or some

other raw pulses in the mouth without drinking the juice, and

(iv) *Suddha-pānae*, i e the penance of the 'pure drink' [67]

In fact, the Ājīvikas in course of their ascetic careers very strictly followed austerities in every sphere These are in sum total the process by which they lead to the ultimate goal But the most interesting point as known from the *Tittira-jātaka*,[68] is the introduction of secret magical rites of a repulsive tantric type A vivid description of the practice of mysterious secret rites of the Ājīvikas is to be found in the *Vāyupurāna* [69]

"Roads, rivers, fords, caitya, trees, highways—*piśācas* (goblins) have entered all these places Those unrighteous people the Ājivas, as ordained by the gods, are the confusers of *varna* and *āsrama*, a people of workmen and craftsmen Goblins are the divinities in their sacrifices, which they perform with wealth (stolen) from beings who resemble the immortals (i e , Brāhmanas) and (gained by acting as) police spies, and with much other ill-gotten wealth, and with honey, meat, broth, *ghee*, sesamum, powder, wine, spirits, incense, greens, *krśara* (boiled sesamum and rice), oil, fragrant grass (? *bhadra*), treacle, and porridge The Lord Brahmā likewise appointed black garments, incense, and flowers to be the oblations of the goblins at the quarters of the moon "

It may not be unlikely to presume that the Ājīvas, i e the Ājīvikas of the *Vāyupurāna* belongs to a later stage, and, of course, not of the Buddhist or the Jaina references This may have been the plight picture of the Ājivika community in north India during the Gupta period when 'the sect itself continued to decline' [70]

Before entering into the doctrinal intricacies of the system we may have a pause just to make a brief survey about the influence and spread of the Ājīvikas in eastern India Its origin on the upper Gangetic valley region centering round Śrāvastī is an established fact Similarly, its later development and extension towards more easternly regions including the boundaries of lower Gangetic region is also an accepted view By the time of Gośāla the Ājīvikas occupied a unique position in the Gangetic valley regions Its history thus begins with the early part of the sixth century BC, although B M Barua takes it back to the eighth or seventh century BC [71] The sect seems to have received royal patronage from the time of the Nandas whose power and splendour are attested by

various sources[72] and who were possibly the followers of the Ājīvika sect Mahāpadma Nanda was a patron of Ājīvikism and "the Ājīvika community certainly existed in some strength in Magadha at the time, and received some patronage from the Mauryas, who were the successors of the Nandas The reference in the *Bhagavatī-sūtra* suggests that he may have given his special support to the Ājīvika *Samgha* "[73]

The continuity of its spread outside the regions of its origin in the subsequent period is known from different sources [74] The *Divyāvadāna*[75] and the *Mahāvamśa* commentary[76] speak to an Ājīvika mendicant (a Parivrājaka) attached to the Maurya king Bindusāra His learning towards the religious system is strikingly attested by a classical reference too [77] It is thus a fact to note that the Ājīvikas were patronized by the court of Magadha even before the introduction of Aśoka's policy of toleration

The influence of the Ājīvikas on the contemporary religious history is also recorded in the inscriptions of the great Maurya king, Aśoka The Seventh Pillar Edict[78] which was issued in the twenty-seventh year of Aśoka's consecration, i e 237 BC describes the duties of the *Dharma-mahāmātra* These officers of public morals "were ordered to busy themselves with the affairs of the *Samgha* likewise others were ordered to busy themselves also with the Brāhmanas (and) Ājīvikas, others were ordered to busy themselves also with the Nirgranthas, others were ordered to busy themselves also with various (other) sects, (thus) different *Mahāmātras* (are busying themselves) specially with different (congregations) "[79] Various scholars like Bühler,[80] Hoernle [81] D R Bhandarkar[82] have interpreted '*bābhanesu ā(j)ivikesu*' differently Whatever might have been the interpretations of the term, one thing is very clear from the above mentioned Pillar Edict as pointed out by A L Basham—"The Seventh Pillar Edict also gives some indication of the influence of the Ājīvikas at the time The Ājīvika *Samgha* appears as a fully developed religious community, on an equal footing with the two other non-Brāhmanic systems, and is not relegated to the last category of the 'various heretics' It may be suggested that, since Aśoka mentions the Ājīvikas before the Nirgranthas, or Jainas, the former sect seemed to the king to be either more influential or more worthy of support than the latter "[83]

In fact, the heyday of the Ājīvikas during the time of pre-Maurya and the Maurya periods in Magadha and its neighbouring

regions is known from the testimony of Aśokan inscriptions as well as his successor Daśaratha in the Barabar[84] and Nagarjuni caves inscriptions[85] In the Barabar Hill complex there are in all four caves, viz Karṇa Chopār cave, Sudāmā cave, Viśvāmitra cave and Lomas Ṛṣi cave, of which three contain Aśokan inscriptions, while the nearby Nagarjuni Hill contains three similar caves, viz Vahiyakā cave, Gopikā cave and Vaḍathikā cave, for providing shelters to the Ājīvika ascetics during the rainy season[86]

The prevalence of the sect in eastern India in the Christian era has hardly substantiated by any archaeological remains It is rather difficult to speculate about the exact time and reasons for the total extinction of this faith from this part of the country Occasional references to them are not wanting in Sanskrit literature of the later period, but these are hardly any positive bearings on the history and philosophy of the sect

It is really curious to note that a sect, a leading representative of the heretical orders, that emerged with equal stronghold and wide influence like those of the Buddhists and the Jainas, did not survive or continue as an independent sect for long in the region of its origin It is, however, not an easy task to ascertain the reason/ reasons behind its oblivion from the stage of Indian religion But it is certain that by the time of the *Vāyupurāna* the sect seemed to have 'struggling for survival as a sort of secret society', and during the time of Varāhamihira[87] the Ājīvikas survived only as one of the seven classes of religious mendicants According to P C Bagchi, "the Ājīvika sect had, by the time of Hiuen-Tsang, merged into the community of the Nirgranthas who were then numerous in Bengal In any case, there is no evidence to prove the separate existence of the Ājīvikas in Bengal "[88] The conjecture put forward by P C Bagchi seems to be possible as the emergence of the mystic saints and their religious communities like the Avadhūtas, etc in the mediaeval period bear ample resembles in respect of activities and ritualistic performances with the naked Nirgrantha and the Ājīvika ascetics

Denying the authority of the Vedas, the Ājīvikas were also indoctrined as the propounder of heretical philosophy The Buddhists and the Jainas considered the Ājīvikas as amoral sts and proceeded to condemn them as immoral in practice Buddha is said to have branded the system of Gosāla among those four groups of ascetics whom he condemned as 'living in incontinency' *abrahmacarya-*

vāsa)[89] He vehemently criticised Gośāla on ethical grounds for holding and practising immoral principles and Gośāla even is "stigmatised bad man" *(mogha-puruṣa)*[90] It is not much difficult to understand why Buddha was much antagonist against the Ājīvikas[91] who were discarded all his ideas and ideals In spite of repeated scandal mongering against the teaching and doctrine of Gośāla a large number of followers from all sections of the society during Buddha's own time accepted this religion in preference to the teachings of Buddha and Mahāvīra [92] Infact, occasional lapses in the individual level of this community are not unnoticed, but, at the same time, their rigidity in performing severe types of penances and restrictions of accepting food comparing to other religious systems cannot be minimised A strong foundation of sincere austerities and of moral discipline undoubtedly facilitated the sect to survive its independent existence for at least a few centuries in the pre and the post Christian era

It is, however, surprising that the Ājīvikas who could lead such an austere life should hold fatalistic views regarding life and nature Their teachings as reflected in the *Sāmaññaphala-sutta* deny action (*Kiriyā*), endeavour (*Viriya*) and result of action (*Kamma*) The essence of the Ājīvika philosophy, i e , the theory of *Niyati* (Fate), teaches that destiny controlled even the most insignificant action of each human being and nothing could change this [93]

It is to be noted in this connection that the concept of the fatalist teaching of which the doctrine of *Niyati* emerged and developed, was not unknown before Makkali Gośāla "A belief in fate, the inevitability of important events, or events with dire consequences, seems to arise at an early stage of religious development in many cultures Parallel with it arises the belief in the efficiency of magic, spells, sacrifice, and prayer, to circumvent the effects of fate "[94] But it was Gośāla who moulded it into a methodical and systematic doctrinal shape His views provide a striking illustration of the trammels of *samsāra* and the rejection of individual initiative in the process of liberation from them [95] Denying the action of *karma* Gośāla believes in an immutable principle which is the determining factor in the universe To his philosophy *karma* is uneffected by good conduct, by vows, by penances or by chastity He practises a rigid path of transmigration when he says that each and every soul must run the same course through a period of 84,00,000 great *kalpas* before reaching salvation

"The are 84,00,000 periods during which both fools and wise alike wandering in transmigration, shall at last make an end of pain. Though the wise should hope 'by this virtue or this performance of duty, or this penance or this righteousness, will I make the *karma* (I have inherited) that is not yet mature', and though the fool should hope, by some means, to get gradually rid of *karma* that has matured—neither of them can do it Pleasure and pain cannot be altered in the course of transmigration, there can be neither increase nor decrease thereof, neither excess nor deficiency Just as when a ball of string is cast forth, it will spread out just as far as and no farther them, it can unwind, just so, both the fools and the wise, transmigrating exactly for the allotted term, shall then, and only then, make an end of pain "[96]

According to the doctrine propounded by the Ājīvikas all beings are developed by Destiny (*Niyati*), chance (*samgati*) and nature (*bhāva*)[97] as Buddhaghosa would have it for the term *parinatā* means 'differentiated'[98] The term *bhāva* implies *svabhāva*, i e nature which has been exalted to the rank of *Niyati* Jñānavimala thus says—'some believe that the universe was produced by *svabhāva*, and that everything comes about by *svabhāva* only'[99] Hoernle takes *samgati* to mean 'environment'[100], but the appropriate translation of the term should be 'lot' or 'chance [101] It is stated in the *Sūtrakrtānga* that pleasure or pain is but the work chance, "it is the lot assigned to them by destiny" [102] G C Pande nicely represents it in the following—"the process of *samsāra* is like the unalterable working out of a coiled up necessity Inasmuch as the process of *samsāra* is moving towards *visuddhi* or the end of misery, it may be considered an evolutionary process As to the nature of the forces behind it we have the statement '*sabbe niyatisamgati-bhāva-parinatā sukha-dukkhaṃ patisam vedenti* According to Buddhaghosa's explanation we have here three co ordinate determinants of experience the first being destiny His own explanation, however, of the second suggests that it should be considered subordinate to the first The third was, in all probability, regarded as at least the cause of the differential manifestation of *Niyati* But if it was not the sole determinant of *Niyati*, it is clear that part of the *Niyati*—as operative must proceed from a source outside *bhāva* or the nature of things Thus partly at least the governing necessary a *samsāra* appears to have a transcendental spring board The vehement denial of the freedom of will and the non mention of

any divine agency suggest that *Niyati* itself was considered an ultimate principle The denial of any reason or cause behind the *saṃkilesa* or *viśuddhi* of men shows that destiny was considered 'blind', i e as equivalent to a causeless necessity "[103]

To the Ājīvikas, as noted earlier, *Niyati* is the ultimate cause of this universe and the other two *samgati* and *bhāva* are but illusory modifications of the *Niyati*[104] Hence the theory of Ājīvika salvation has been called sometimes in the Jātaka as—*saṁsāraśuddhi*,[105] i e salvation by transmigration because all being in the process of transmigration get purified Here is the saying, "There is no short cut (lit door) to bliss, Bijaka Wait on Destiny Whether (a man has) joy or sorrow, it is obtained through Destiny All beings are purified through transmigration (so) do not be eager for that which is to come "[106]

In connection with the dealing of the philosophy of this system, it may be noted that the logic and epistemology of this school had much in consonance with that of the Trairāśikas[107] of the Jainas The distinctive characteristic of the system was the division of propositions into three categories, in contrast with the orthodox Jaina system, which allowed seven (*saptabhangī*) The "Jainas" observes Jacobi "borrowed the idea (Jaina doctrine of the six *leśyās*) from the Ājīvikas and altered it so as to bring it into harmony with the rest of their doctrines "[108]

REFERENCES

[1]*Supra* ch I

[2]*Cambridge History of India*, I, p 144 As regards the background to the conflict it is stated—

the unquestioned authority of the Vedas,
the belief in a world creator,
the quest for purification through ritual bathings,
the arrogant division into castes,
the practice of mortification to atone for sin

These five are the marks of the crass stupidity of the witless men *Pramāṇa-vārtika-svavṛtti ṭikā* ed R Samkṛtyāyana, pp 617-18

[3]*SBE*, XLV, Introduction, xxix-xxx

[4]Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, p 133

[5]*ABORI*, VIII p 183

[6]*ERE*, I, p 259 On the derivation of the term Ājīvika, Burnouf (*Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi* II p 777) believes that it had no derogatory significance, but meant 'one who lives on the charity of others , deriving it from *a-jīva*, 'the

absence of livelihood, with the addition of the suffix *ka* Similarly, Lassen (*Indische Altertumskunde*, II, p 107, fn 2) also made the etymological explanation that the word meant an ascetic who ate no living or animal food Another explanation of the term is known from the *Digha nikaya* (III, p 9) where it is stated that the Buddha met at Vesali an ascetic named Kandara-masuka, who maintained seven life long vows, viz *(1) As long as I live (yāvajjivam) I will be* naked, and will not put on a garment, (2) perpetual chastity, (3) to beg spirits and meat, and the last four are vows of a Jaina type Kern (*Der Buddhismus und Seine Geschichte in Indien*, II, p 7, fn 2) suggests that the word Ājīvika may be derived from such pharse as *ājīvat*, 'as long as life'

[7]*Bhagavati-sūtra*, 15 1, 540 41 "*Citta phalagahatthagae mankhattanenam appānam gāmanugāmem* The term Mankhi' is also used in the *Mahābhārata* (Śāntiparva, 176, V 5ff) to denote Gośala In the Chinese tradition, the name Maskari Gośāliputra is recorded and it is explained that Maskari is his *gotra* name and Gośali is his mother s name, so he was Gośaliputra, son of Gośāli (*Chinese Encyclopaedia*, VI pp 820 21) On the other hand, Charpentier thinks that Gośāla's father Mankhali was a mendicant bearing a picture board displaying a representation of Śiva (*JRAS* 1913, pp 671 72) Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita* (Ucchāsa 5, p 153) mentions a reference to *Yamapattika* i e one who lives by showing a piece of cloth on which Yama and others are exhibited

Another legend tells us that Gosāla was born in a cow shed (*go-sala*) of an affluent Brāhmaṇa called Gobahula in the village named Saravana (Buddhaghoṣa, *SV*, I, pp 143ff, B M Barua, *Ājivikas* pp 9ff) Buddhaghoṣa while explaining the term *makkhali* says—*Tāta ma khalih* (My dear man, take care lest you stumble), assumes that he was a servant of a wealthy person who warns him thus

[8]*ERE*, I, p 260

[9]*Pāṇini*, IV 1 154

[10]*Mahābhāṣya* (ed Kielhorn), III 96 cf also *supra*, ch I It is to be noted in this connection that there were two grades of the Maskarins who were also known as the *Eka daṇḍin* in the later period In the initial stage the ascetic carried an actual staff, in addition to a begging bowl and a s rip of loin cloth (*kati-bandhana*), while in the higher grade like that of *Paramahamsa*, the ascetic abandoned even these three posse sions, claiming absolute renunciation as his only staff of reliance For the sign ficance of the terms—*Daṇḍin*, *Eka-daṇḍin* and *Tri daṇḍin* see author s writing in *The Mother*, vol XII, no 4, December, 1969

[11]*Arthaśāstra*, III 20 16, R P Kangle's edn , pt II, p 252

[12]Malalasekara, *DPPN*, I, pp 179 80, 385ff, *MN*, *Ariyapariyesana-sutta* vol I, pp 160-75

[13]*Jātaka*, I 81, *Mahāvagga*, trans I B Horner, p 11

[14]*HDA*, p 95

[15]In fact, we have no exclusive textual evidence meant for this sect Buddhist references to Gośāla's doctrine are sometimes confused, e g , in *AN*, III, 383 his classifications are attributed to Pūrana and in *MN* I 513 part of his doc trines is combined with those of the Pakudha As we see later on that Pūraṇa and Pakudha as well as Gośala had an important part in forming Ājīvika doctrine, B M Barua (*JDL*, II, pp 1-80) provides an exhaustive list of these sources

and also makes a comparison to these Buddhist references with those found in the Jaina texts in order to form an idea of the fundamentals of Gośālian dogmatics

[16]Malalasekara, op cit, II, p 14

[17]Ibid, I, p 609

[18]Ibid II, p 123

[19]For details, *HDA*, ch III, pp 27ff

[20]*Supra*, ch I

[21]*AN*, III trans, p 273

[22]*MN*, *Sandaka sutta* no 76, Malalasekara, *DPPN*, II, p 14

[23]*Bhagavati sūtra*, XV, *su* 550, fol 674

[24]*HDA*, p 31

[25]Ibid p 32

[26]Ibid, p 33

[27]*JDL* vol II, p 5

[28]Hoernle on the basis of the *Tittira Jataka s* account tries to show that a mendicant (Ājīvika) carried a bamboo staff (*veṇuyaṭṭhi*) The Ājīvika Upaka is also described bearing a staff (*Latthi hattho*) —*Therigatha*, 291

[29]*Aṣṭādhyāyī*, IV I 154

[30]*Bhagavati sūtra*, XV *su* 541, fol 660 63

[31]This event possibly took place in the second year of Mahāvīra's wanderings

[32]Ibid *su* 542 fol 664 An exhaustive description of their wanderings has been recorded by Jinadasa Mahattara (*Avaśyaka curnī* 1 pp 271, 282-84, 287-99) who flourished in the seventh century AD

[33]According to Jacobi (*SBE*, XLV, Introduction pp xxix-xxx) the Jainas borrowed the idea of *leśyā* from the Ājīvika conception of *abhijāti*, or six classes of mankind, and 'altered it so as to bring it into harmony with the rest of their own doctrines The concept of *abhijati* (*AN* III p 383, *SV*, p 162) preached by the Ājīvikas has evidently noticeable bearing on the Jaina classification of beings and the Jaina conception of *leśya* The grouping is made on the basis of colours to different classes of beings The highest or *parama sukha* (supremely white) group contains three names only, viz Gosala and his two predecessors, Nanda Vaccha and Kisa Sankicca Below this is the category of white (*sukka*), includes Ājīvika ascetics of both the sexes The next one is green (*halidda*) which contains the *acelakas* Below this is red (*lohita*) to which belong the Niganthas who wear a single garment Blue (*nīla*) comes as the next category representing *bhikkhus* who live as thieves and also believers in the efficiency of works (*karma*) The lowest category is black (*kanha*) consisting of thieves, fisher-men, fowlers and others For a comparative study of these two systems, viz *abhijāti* and *leśya*, and also for the relationship between Jainism and Ājīvikism see, *HDA*, pp 240ff

[34]*Uvāsaga dasāo*, ed Hoernle, I, pp 105ff

[35]*Vinaya*, IV, p 223

[36]*Jātaka*, III, pp 536-43

[37]Ibid, p 541 *Hatthā daddhā piṇḍapatigga hanena*

[38]Ibid, p 542

[39]*Jātaka*, VI pp 215ff

[40]*HDA*, pp 104-5.

[41]*Dhammapada Commentary*, II, p 52

[42]Ibid, it is to be noted in this connection that Jambuka for his severe asceticism obtains a great reputation for sanctity as a wind eater (*vata bhakkho*) until he is ultimately converted by the Buddha

[43]V Nallaswami Pillai, *Śivajñāna Siddhiyār*, pp xlv xlvi, M A Mudaliyar ed, *Civañāṇa-cittiyār parapakṣam* Madras, 1911 It is in two parts—*parapakṣam* and *supakṣam* The first half mainly deals with the principal opposing systems of the time including Materialism Buddhism, Jainism and the orthodox sects each of which is refuted, while the latter one is an exposition of Śaivite doctrine and philosophy of the far south The Ājīvikas are described in the *parapakṣam* immediately after the naked Jaina ascetic (Digambara) evidently showing the distinction between the Ājīvikas and the Digambara Jainas even at this late date of thirteenth century AD

[44]*ERE* I p 269

[45]Sugiura *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan* p 16 quoting *Hyaku ron So*, I, 22, *HDA*, p 112

[46]*Jānaki harana* X 76

Dambh'-ajīvikam uttunga jaṭā manḍita mastakam /

Kañcin maskarinam Sita dadarś āsramam āgatam //

[47]Krom, *The Life of the Buddha*, pl 110, also *Barabudur*, vol I, pp 220 21 pl II

[48]Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas*, p 159

[49]*HDA*, p 106

[50]*Supra*, fn 33

[51]*Vamsattha-ppakāsinī*, I, p 190

[52]*MN*, I, p 31

[53]*CHI*, I, p 207

[54]*Vinaya*, II, p. 165

[55]*Bhagavatī-sūtra*, XV, *su* 554, fols 680 81

[56]Ibid VIII, *su* 329, fol 369

[57]Of course contradictory evidences alleging the Ājīvikas for eating of animal food are not unknown Thus it is mentioned that all beings whose enjoyment is unimpaired obtain their food by killing cutting, cleaving, lopping, amputating, and attacking "—Ibid

[58]*HDA* p 123

[59]*Bhagavatī-sutra* 15 1 543, In the *Lomahamsa Jātaka* (I, p 390) the Ājīvika asceticism is depicted by way of the description of the practice of severe penances by Bodhisattva born as an Ājīvika

[60]*Nanguṭṭha Jataka*, I, p 493

[61]Asutosh Bhattacharya *Dharma Worship in West Bengal* (in Census 1951, The Tribes and Castes of West Bengal) p 359

[62]*Aupapātika sutra su* 41 fol 196 In this connection a comparison may be noted with a passage of the *Mahāsaccaka-sutta* of the *MN*, (I, p 238) containing a catalogue of the habits of the Ājīvika mendicants (B M Barua, *Pre Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* pp 167 8, also *JDL* II, p 48) According to Barua "An Ājīvika never incurred the guilt of obeying another's command He refused to accept food which had been specially prepared for him He did not accept food

from people when they were eating, lest they should go short or be disturbed He did not accept food collected in time of drought He did not accept food where a dog was standing by or flies were swarming round lest they lose a meal He did not eat fish or meat, nor use intoxicants ' But A L Basham finds it difficult to accept it as the habits of the members of the organized Ājīvika community' (*HDA*, pp 118ff) It seems to be the general feature of the art of begging practised by all ascetics irrespective of any particular religious community, and not by the Ājīvika alone

[63]Abhayadeva s commentary on *Aupapātika*

[64]Ibid The continuation of this kind of penance was in practice among the ascetics of the Tamil region in the fourteenth century AD K R Srinivasan on the basis of a fourteenth century work (*Naccinarkkiniyar s* commentary on the early Tamil grammar, *Tolkappiyam*) mentions the existence of such category of ascetics who perform penance in *tāli*, or funerary urns *Ancient India* II, p 9, *HDA* pp 111 12

[65]*Sthanāṅga sūtra*, IV 309, A C Sen, *Schools and Sects in Jaina Literature*, p 11

[66]*Bhagavati sūtra*, XV, *su* 554 fol 680 also Abhayadeva's commentary

[67]While commenting on this item it is stated that for six months the ascetic eats only pure food (*suddha khaimaim*), for two months he lies on the ground, for two on wood, and for two on *darbha* grass (i e *kuśa* grass) And on the last night of these six months' penance, two powerful gods, Punnabhadda (Pūrṇabhadra) and Māṇibhadda (Manibhadra) will appear and with their icy arms will soothe his fevered body But if the dying ascetic rises above the caresses of these gods he is saved and this is known as the pure drink

[68]*Tittira Jataka*, III, pp 541-42

[69]*Vāyu purāna* 69, 284 88

[70]*HDA* pp 162 63

[71]B M Barua, *Ājīvikas*, G Buhler is also of the opinion that the founder of the sect may be placed about 750 BC

[72]H C Raychaudhuri, *PHIA* pp 187ff

[73]*HDA*, p 145

[74]The *Mahavamśa* X records that king Paṇḍukābhaya of Ceylon, the grandfather of Aśoka s contemporary Devānampiya Tissa, built 'a house of Ājīvikas' (*Ājivikanam geham*) at Anurādhāpura Similarly the prevalence of the Ājīvikas in Surattha (Surat in Gujarat) two hundred years after the Buddha's *nirvāna* is known from a passage in the *Petavatthu* (IV 3, p 57)

[75]*Divyāvadāna* pp 370ff

[76]*Vamsattha-ppakāsini*, I, p 190

[77]*CII*, I, p xxxv

[78]*CII*, I, pp 131ff

[79]*CII*, I, p 136, II, pp 15-16

[80]*EI* II p 272

[81]*ERE* I p 267,

[82]*IA*, XLI pp 286-90

[83]*HDA*, pp 149-50

[84]*CHI* I, pp 181ff

[85]*IA*, XX, pp 361ff

[86]G Bühler, *IA*, XX, 1891, pp 361 65, *HDA*, pp 150-60

[87]*Brhajjātaka*, XV 1

[88]*HB*, Dacca University, p 411, fn 3

[89]*MN*, I, pp 541ff [90]*ERE*, I, p 261

[91]Buddha declared—"like a fish-trap set at river-mouth, Makkhali was born into the world to be a man-trap for the distress and destruction of men" *AN*, Nalanda edn, p 267

[92]*Supra*, ch I

[93]It may be remembered in this connection the well known experiment that was made by Gośala together with Mahāvira taking as specimen a large sesamum plant (*tila thambha*) which being uprooted and destroyed reappeared in due time On the basis of that observation Gosala came to conclusion that all living beings are subject to reanimation (*Pautta Parihara am Parihanti*)—B M Barua *A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy* p 301 fn 1, Rockhill *The Life of the Buddha* pp 250 51

[94]*HDA*, p 6, *ERE* p 772, 'Fate'

[95]G C Pandey, *Studies in the Origin of Buddhism*, p 342

[96]N Aiyaswami Sastri, 'Śramana or Non-Brahmanical Sects', *Cultural Heritage of India*, I, p 396

[97]*Niyati Samgati bhāva-Parinatā DN* p 53

[98]*Nāna ppakaratam Pattā*, *SV*, I, p 160

[99]*Kecit Svabhava bhavitamy jagad manyante svabhaven ava sarv-h sampadyate Praśna Vyakarana*, 7, fol 29 Gunaratna (*Tarka rahasyadipika* to *Saddarśana-samuccaya* p 13) also speaks of the *Svabhava vadins* who agreed with the *Niyati vadins* on the futility of human efforts

[100]*ERE*, I, p 261 [101]*HDA* p 226

[102]*Su Kr*, I, 1, 2 2, 3, fol 30 [103]G C Pandey, op cit, pp 343 44

[104]It may be noted that the Ājivikas was called sometimes a believer in the doctrine of causelessness, i e, *ahetukavadin* (*Jataka* V, p 228) Since all human activities were ineffectual he was also an *akriyāvadin* a disbeliever in the efficiency of works

[105]*N'atthi dvaram sugatiyā Niyatim, Kamkha, Bijaka*
Sukham vā yadi vā duhkham Nivatiya kira labhati
Samsara śuddhi Sabbesam ma turittho anagati
—*Jataka* VI, p 229, cf *Ime Satta samsara-suddhika-Jataka*, V, p 228, cf also, *Uvāsagadasāo*, ed P L Vaidya p 201 *Samsāra Visuddhim vyākāsi*

[106]*HDA*, p 228

[107]Ibid, pp 274 75 The commentaries to the *Nandisutra* (fol 113) and to the *Samavāyānga* (fol 129) also explain the system, more or less, in the same manner

"The Ājivika heretics founded by Gosala are likewise called Trairāśikas, since they declare everything to be of triple character, viz, living not living, and both living and not living, world, not world, and both world and not world, real, unreal, and both real and unreal In considering standpoints (*naya*) (they postulate that an entity may be) of the nature of substance, of mode, or of both Thus, since they maintain three heaps (*rasi*), they are called *Trairāśikas*" Quoted, *HDA*, p 274

[108]*SBE*, XLV, Introduction, xxix-xxx

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